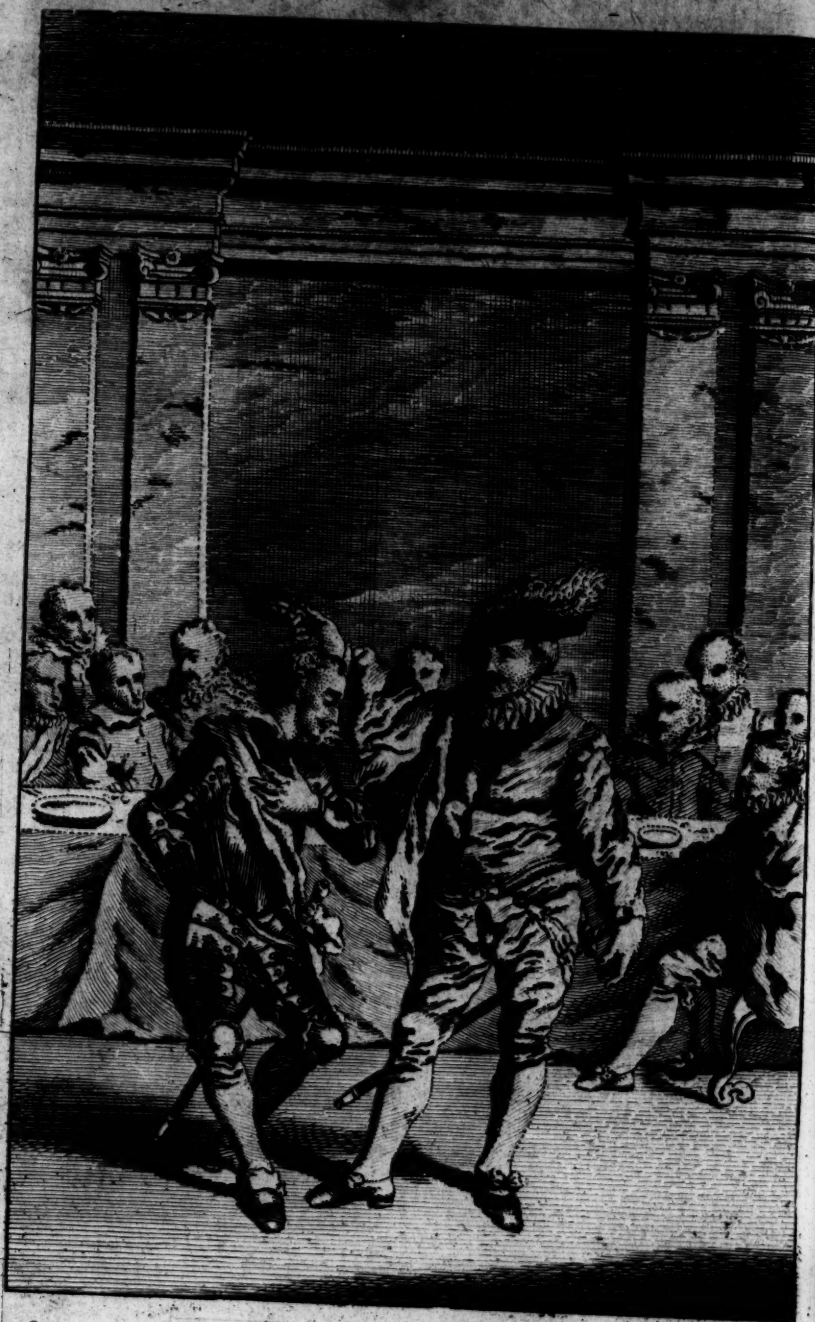




*Edward the third, King of England, crowning his Pri-
soner the Chevalier du Ribaultmont, at Calais.*

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL,
AND EXPLANATORY.

By T. FRANKLIN, D.D.
Chaplain to his Majesty, and late Greek Professor in
the University of Cambridge.

T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
AND OTHERS.

A NEW EDITION.

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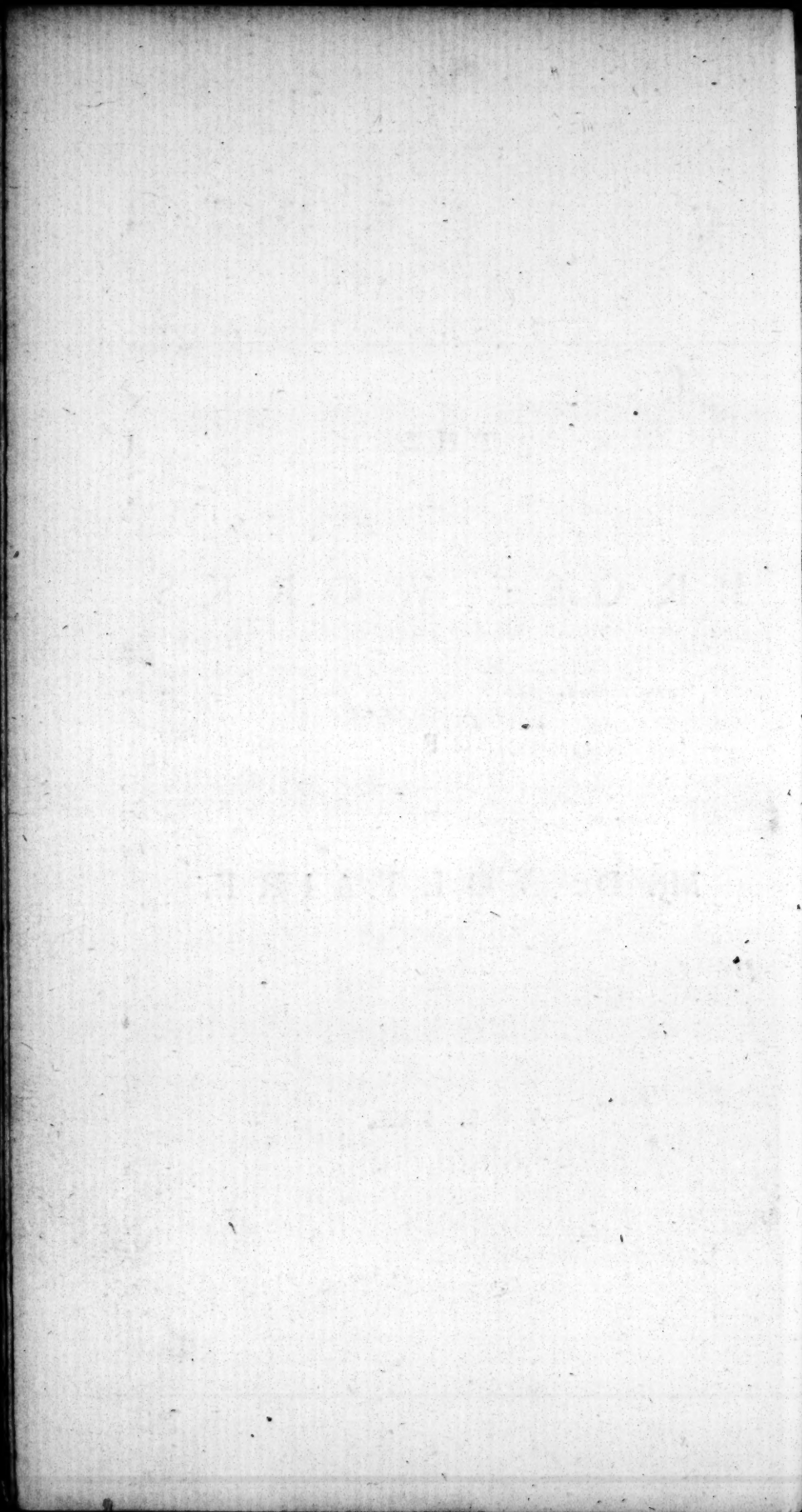
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W. E. B. DUBOIS

THE
PROSE WORKS
OF
MR. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XXII.



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ADDITIONS

TO THE

ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY,

AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations,
from CHARLEMAGNE to the present
Time.

Of the GERMANS.

ÆSAR tells us, in his See Intro-
Commentaries, that the duction to
C days of battle were al- Gen. Hist,
ways appointed by their vol. I. p. 8.
magicians or soothsay-
ers; and that when Ariovistus, one of their
kings, led an army of an hundred thousand
wandring Germans, to pillage the country of
the Gauls, that he (Cæsar) being desirous to
subdue these people, rather than plunder them,
B sent

sent two Roman officers to Ariovistus, to confer with him on the occasion ; when the barbarian ordered them to be loaded with chains, and to be kept as victims to be offered to the gods of his country ; which inhuman sentence was going to be put in execution, when Cæsar delivered them by beating the German army. The families of these barbarians lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, sisters, brothers, and children, lay all huddled together naked upon straw, while the other end was reserved for their cattle. These, however, were the same people who became masters of Rome. Therefore Tacitus, in extolling the manners of the antient Germans, is like Horace when he sings the praises of the barbarian Getæ ; both writers shew themselves equally ignorant of their subject, and in fact only make the satire of Rome. Nay, Tacitus, in the midst of his panegyric, acknowledges what every one knew, that the Germans chose rather to live by rapine, than to be at the pains to cultivate their lands ; and that after having plundered their neighbours, they were wont to return home to make merry with their booty. However, they could not always subsist by plunder, for the Roman emperors having at length checked their incursions, and subjected a great part of them, they were constrained to seek a livelihood by labour, which they considered as the greatest hardship.

CHANGES in the GLOBE.

Idem, pag. 9.] **T**HOSE pleasant and fruitful tracts of land in the western part of Europe, that sweet country watered by the Rhine, the Maese, the Seine, and the Loire, were all covered by the waters of the ocean for a prodigious number of ages. This truth is physically demonstrated by those deep and horizontal beds of sea shells, which are found far in-land, and which were deposited there by little and little, as the ocean left it.

It is not so certain that those chains of mountains, which run across the old and new world, were formerly covered by the sea.

1. Because these mountains are many of them 10,000 feet and more higher than the surface of the sea.

2. Because, if there was a time when these mountains did not exist, whence did those springs and rivers of fresh water arise, which are so necessary to the lives of all animals?

3. In supposing these mountains to have been covered with waters, we must contradict the order of nature, and the known laws of gravity and hydrostatics.

4. The bed of the ocean is hollow, and in this cavity we find no chain of mountains stretching from one pole to the other, or from east to west, as on the earth; we cannot therefore, with any degree of truth, conclude that all our globe was for a long time covered with sea, because several parts of it have been formerly overflowed. We must not assert, that the

ADDITIONS to

sea once divided the Alps and the Cordilleras, because it has covered the lower parts of Gaul, Greece, Germany, Africa and India: neither should we infer that mount Taurus was once a navigable flood, because the Philippine and Molucca islands were once part of the continent. And altho' it is probable that the mountainous parts of the earth may have undergone many physical and moral changes, as well as the more level parts, yet we do not know what these have been: human nature is entirely new to us.

Of CHINA.

Vol. I .
chap. I.
page 11.

IT is said in the Book of the Five Kings (by far the most ancient and authentic of the Chinese) that in the reign of the emperor Yo, the fourth in succession to Fo-hi, there was observed a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Now, our astronomers pretend to dispute among themselves concerning the time of this conjunction, which certainly they ought not to do; for even supposing the Chinese to have been mistaken in this celestial observation, the very mistake was glorious. We learn from books, that from time immemorial the Chinese knew that the planets Venus and Mercury revolved round the sun; it would therefore be rejecting the common lights of reason not to perceive, that such a knowledge supposes a vast number of preceding ages; and what renders those first writings so peculiarly venerable, and gives them such an acknowledged superiority over all those that relate the origin of

GENERAL HISTORY. 5

of other nations is, that we do not meet with any prodigies in them, and predictions, or any of those political impostures, with which the founders of all other states stand charged, unless we will except that of Fo-hi, who is said to have given out that he saw his law written on the back of a flying serpent. But even this imputation, if true, shews us that writing was known in China before the time of Fo-hi. In fine, it is not for us in this western corner of the globe, to dispute the archives of a nation who were compleatly civilized, while we were no more than a herd of savages.

* * *

Id. page 12.] The Chinese invented a cycle, or computation of time; which begins 2602 years before ours. Is it for us then to dispute a chronology which has been unanimously received by a whole people? Is it for us, I say, who have at least threescore different systems for reckoning antient dates and times, and consequently have not one on which we can depend?

* * *

Id. page 15.] Certain learned chronologists have computed, that from one single family remaining after the deluge, the members of which were constantly employed in the business of procreation, and their children the same, there was begotten in the space of 250 years, a far greater number of souls than the whole world at present contains. Surely the Talmud, or the Arabian tales, never broached any thing half so absurd! Children are not begot with the dash of a pen. Examine our colonies; examine the prodigious cluster of

islands in Asia, which furnish not a single soul; or the Maldivian, Philippine, and Molucca islands, which have not half their proper number of inhabitants.

* * *

Id. page 18.] The journal of the Chinese empire, which is the most authentic and useful work of its kind in the known world, inasmuch as it contains the particulars of all the public wants, and the resources and interests of all the orders of the state: This journal, I say, informs us, that in the year of our vulgar æra 1725, the wife of the emperor Yontohin, whom he had caused to be declared empress, did, according to the ancient custom on such occasions, distribute presents to all the poor women in China above seventy years of age. The journal reckons in the single province of Canton 98,220 women of seventy years of age who received the bounty on this occasion, 50,893 of eighty and upwards, and 3453 who were near an hundred. How many women then must there have been, who were not entitled to the donation? We have here above 142,000 who partook thereof in one province only. These are among the number accounted of no use to the state. How prodigious then must be the population of this country? Only supposing every one entitled to the bounty throughout the empire to have received the value of ten livres*, to what an immense sum must this have amounted!

* About eight shillings and sixpence sterling.

Id. page 20.] There is a particular passage in the third book of Confucius, which shews how very ancient the use of armed chariots is. In his time, the viceroy, or governors of provinces, were obliged to furnish the emperor, or head of the empire, with a thousand war-chariots, drawn by four horses a breast, and a thousand four-wheeled chariots. Homer, who flourished a century after the Chinese philosopher, never speaks of chariots with more than three or four horses a breast. The Chinese had undoubtedly first begun, and were become perfect masters in the use of four-wheeled chariots; but neither the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, nor the Chinese, appear to have made use of single cavalry, and yet it is almost beyond dispute, that the method of fighting on horseback was prior to the use of chariots. We are told that Pharoah king of Egypt had horsemen, and at the same time that he made use of chariots of war.

* * *

Id. page 22.] It is certain that the Chinese were acquainted with the elements of geometry many ages before Euclid; and the emperor did of late years assure father Parenin, the most learned and wise of any of the missionaries who had access to the person of that prince, that the emperor Yu had made use of the properties of the right-angled triangle, in drawing the geographical plan of a province above 3960 years ago; and father Parenin himself quotes a book wrote above 1100 years before our vulgar æra, which says, that the famous demonstration which the western part of the world attributed

to Pythagoras, had for a long time been in the number of the most generally known theorems.

* * *

Id. page 23.] The fundamental law in China being, to consider the empire as one family, is the reason why the welfare of the community is attended to as the first and principal duty; hence that particular care which the emperor and the several tribunals shew in keeping the highways in repair, in making communications between rivers, in forming canals, and in encouraging agriculture and manufactories.

We shall set apart another section for treating of the Chinese government. But you are to observe before hand, that the travellers and missionaries have affirmed it to be altogether despotic. But here they judge only from outward appearances; and because they see men fall flat on their faces before another, imagine from thence, that they must all be slaves to that person, and that he has absolute power over the lives and fortunes of an hundred millions of men, to whom his sole will must be a law. But this is an erroneous opinion, as we shall shew more at large in another place; for the present I shall content myself with observing, that, in the first ages of this monarchy, the people were permitted to write down any complaints they might have against the administration, on a long table placed for that purpose in an apartment of the palace, and that this custom was received in its full force under the reign of Vengthi, two centuries before our vulgar æra; and lastly, that, in times of peace, the representations of the tribunals have always had the force of law.

Chap.

* * *

Chap. II. page 29.] Confucius begins his book by saying, that whoever is destined to rule over a nation, ought "to purify that reason which he has received from heaven, in the same manner as we cleanse a mirror when it is sullied;" and also, that he ought "to form himself anew, in order to new-model the people committed to his care." All he says tends to the same end. He does not pretend to inspiration, or the gift of prophecy. He places all his merit in a constant endeavour to gain the mastery over his passions, and he writes only as a philosopher: accordingly the Chinese consider him only as a philosopher.

* * *

Id. page 30.] We know very little about materialism, and far less about immaterialism. The Chinese did not know more of it than ourselves, and their learned were satisfied with adoring a Supreme Being. Of this there can be no doubt.

The belief that God and his angels were corporeal, was an old metaphysical error; but not to believe that there is any God, is an error incompatible with a wise government. It is a contradiction worthy of ourselves to cry out with vehemence against Bayle, for believing that a society of atheists may subsist, and at the same time to affirm, that the wisest empire in the universe is founded on atheistical principles.

Father Fouquet the Jesuit, who lived 25 years in China, and left it a declared enemy to those of his own order, has told me several times, that there were very few of the Chinese

philosophers atheists. The same may hold good amongst us.

Of the I N D I E S.

Vol. I.
chap. III.

THIS country is the only one in the world that produces those spices which the temperance of the natives can do without, and which the epicurism of the inhabitants of these northern climates have rendered a necessary food.

Id. page 33, 36.] Pythagoras, the gymnosophist, may alone serve as an incontestible proof that true science was cultivated in India. A master in politics and geometry would not long have remained in a school where they taught nothing but empty words. It is even more than probable that Pythagoras learnt the properties of the right-angled triangle from the Indians, the invention of which was afterwards ascribed to him; for as it was so well known in China, it might easily be the same in India. It has been frequently said, that he offered an hecatomb of bullocks on the discovery. This was rather an extravagant offering for a philosopher. It is certainly well becoming a wise man to return thanks for a happy thought, to him who is the giver of all knowledge, as well as of being; but it is more likely that Pythagoras was indebted for this theorem to the gymnosophists, than that he sacrificed an hecatomb of bullocks.

Ibid.] The Indian sages treated morality and philosophy under the veil of fable and allegory long before the time of Pilpay. When they wanted to describe the equity of any one of
their

GENERAL HISTORY. III

their kings, they said, that "the gods who
 "preside over the several elements having a
 "dispute among themselves, had chosen this
 "king as umpire between them." Their an-
 cient traditions give an account of a judgment
 much like that of Solomon's. They have a
 fabulous story exactly the same as that of Jupi-
 ter and Amphitryon, but more ingeniously
 imagined; for a sage by his superior knowledge
 discovers which of them is the god, and which
 the mortal. These traditions shew the great
 antiquity of those allegories which make all
 extraordinary men to be children of the gods.
 The Greeks learnt all their mythology from the
 Indians and Egyptians. All these parables former-
 ly included philosophical meaning; in process
 of time the meaning was lost, and the fable re-
 mained.

Science has greatly degenerated among the
 Indians: possibly the Tartarian government may
 have damped the genius of those people, as
 the Ottoman government has that of the
 Greeks and the Egyptians, which latter it has
 in a manner made stupid. The sciences are
 likewise almost annihilated among the Persians,
 from the multitude of revolutions that state has
 undergone. We have seen, that they have
 continued in China in much the same degree of
 mediocrity as amongst us in the middle age,
 and from the same cause which operated with
 us, namely, a superstitious veneration for an-
 tiquity, and the rules and dogmas of schools.
 Thus the human mind finds something to
 check its progress in every country.

Id. Page 35.] Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Indostan, and alledged in defence of their opinion, that the most helpless of all animals would be naturally produced in the mildest of all climates, and in a country where the ground spontaneously produced the most wholesome and nourishing fruits; such as dates and cocoas, the latter of which in particular, produce with a very little trouble, wherewithal to afford him food, raiment, and lodging; and what more can an inhabitant of this isthmus stand in need of? The labourer there works almost naked, and two yards of a thin stuff is more than sufficient for a covering to their women, who are strangers to luxury. The children continue naked as they are born, till the age of puberty. Mattraffes, featherbeds, rich coverlids, and double curtains folding over each other, which we purchase with so much pains and expence, would be insufferable inconveniencies to these people, who cannot sleep otherwise than upon a mat, in the open air.

Those houses of carnage, which with us are called flesh-markets, and where so many carcases are sold to nourish our's, would occasion a plague in the Indian climate. The natives want only light and cooling food, and nature has accordingly bestowed on them, with a liberal hand, vast woods of citron, orange and fig; palm and cocoa trees, and fields covered with rice. The most robust man in that country could not expend more than two-pence a-day for his diet, whereas a labouring man with us spends more in eating in one day, than
would

would serve a Malabar for a month. These several considerations seem to corroborate the antient opinion, that man is originally a native of a country, where nature has provided for all his wants, and left him little or nothing to do himself. But this only proves that the Indians themselves are *indigenæ*, and not that the several other races of men came from this country. The whites, the blacks, the reds, the Laplanders, the Samojedes, and the Albino's, or white Moore, are certainly not natives of the same climate. There is as distinguishing a difference between all these kinds, as between a horse and a camel. No one then but an ignorant and obstinate bramin would attempt to say that all mankind are descended from the Indian and his wife.

* * *

Id. page 36.] The western nations have always carried their gold and silver into India, increasing the wealth of that country already so rich of itself. Hence it comes that we never see the inhabitants of India, of China, or the banks of the river Ganges, quit their own country, to make incursions on other nations, as was the custom with the Arabs, both Jews and Saracens, the Tartars, and even the Romans themselves, who being situated in the worst part of all Italy, lived in the beginning wholly by war, as they do at present by religion.

It is beyond doubt, that the continent of India was of a much larger extent formerly than it is at present. The islands which are scattered between it and the eastern and southern part of the continent were, in the early ages of the world,

world, a part of the Terra Firma, as may appear by the shallowness of the sea which separates them, the trees that grow at its bottom, which are exactly the same with those found on the islands, and, lastly, those new portions of land which it frequently leaves dry; all which shews that this part of the continent has been formerly overflowed; and this has happened as a necessary consequence, when the ocean, which always gains in one part what it loses in another, returned from our western shores.

* * *

Id. page 36.] The abominable custom by which the women in India make a point of honour to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, is not yet abolished. The widow of the king of Tangour burned herself in this manner, in the year 1735, on the funeral pile of her husband. Mr. Dumas and Mr. Dupleix were witnesses of several of these inhuman sacrifices. This is certainly the utmost extent of error and superstition over the perverted mind of man. The most austere dervis is a pusillanimous wretch in comparison of a Malabar woman.

* * *

Id. page 37.] It certainly was not christianity that flourished in India in the sixth century, it was mahometanism, which had been introduced there after the conquest of the caliphs, and Aaron Raschild, or Haroun Alraschild. This illustrious cotemporary of Charlemagne, who conquered Africa, Syria, Persia, and a part of India, sent some musulmen missionaries to propagate the Mahometan faith among the inhabitants on the borders of the Ganges, those of the isles in the Indian sea, and even a hord of negroes.

GENERAL HISTORY. 15

negroes. From that time there were a great number of missionaries in India. We do not find that the great Aaron converted the Indians by fire and sword, as Charlemagne did the Saxons; neither do we find that the Indians refused to submit to the yoke of Aaron Raschild, as the Saxons did to that of Charlemagne.

The Indians have always been as remarkable for their mildness, as our northern race for their roughness. The softness which is begotten by a climate, is not to be overcome, but roughness is to be softened.

In general, the men inhabiting the south-east part of the globe, have received from nature gentler manners than we who dwell in the western hemisphere. Their climate naturally disposes them to abstinence from strong liquors and flesh-meats, foods which inflame the blood, and frequently to a degree of madness; and altho' the general goodness of their dispositions may have been corrupted by superstition, and the repeated irruptions of foreigners, yet all travellers agree that these people have nothing of that petulance and sourness in their nature, which has cost so much pains to keep under in the people of the north.

There being so great a physical difference between us and the natives of India, there must undoubtedly have been as great a moral one. Their vices were in general less violent than ours. Like us they in vain sought for a remedy against the irregularity of their manners. It was from time immemorial a maxim with them and a Chinese, "that the wise man was to come from the west." We Europeans, on the contrary, said, "that the wise man was to come from
the

“ the east.” All nations have, in all times, stood in need of a wise man.

Of the BRAMINS, the VEDAM, and
the EZOUR-VEDAM.

AS India supplies the wants of all the world, but is herself beholden for nothing, she must for that very reason have been the most early civilised of any country, and by a like consequence necessarily have had the most ancient form of worship. It is most probable the religion of India was for a long time the same with that of the Chinese government, and consisted only in the pure and simple worship of a Supreme Being, free from any superstition and fanaticism.

This simple religion was formed by the first bramins, such as it was established in China by the first kings of that country. These bramins, who at that time governed India, were the peaceable rulers of a mild and discerning people, and were at the same time the chiefs of religion. That religion must be simple and rational, because its chiefs have no occasion for errors to procure them obedience. It is so natural to believe in one only God, and to adore him, and to feel from the very soul that he must be just, that where a ruler declares these truths, the faith of the people prevent his words. It requires some time to establish arbitrary laws, but a single instant is sufficient to teach a number of people assembled, to believe that there is a God, and to hearken to the dictates of their own hearts.

The

The first bramins then, being at once kings and pontiffs, could not establish religion but on the foundation of universal reason ; but it is not so in those countries where the pontifical and regal dignity are separate. In this case the religious functions, which belong originally to the heads of families, form a distinct profession. The service of God becomes a trade, and to make this worth carrying on, recourse must sometimes be had to delusions and impostures.

Religion then degenerated among the bramins as soon as they ceased to be sovereigns.

The bramins had ceased to rule in India long before the time of Alexander the Great ; but their tribe, or *cast*, as it was called, still held the chief rank, as it continues to do to this day ; and it was from this tribe that they took those fables (true and false) which the Greeks called *Gymnosophists*. It cannot be denied, that, even in their decline, they gave many proofs of that kind of virtue which is compatible with the illusions of fanaticism. They continued to acknowledge one supreme God, in the midst of the multitude of subordinate deities, which popular superstition adopted in all countries in the world. Strabo expressly says, that in the main the bramins acknowledge only one God. In this they resemble Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, all the sages, and all the hierophantes, or those who had the care of the sacred mysteries. The seven years of probationership among the bramins, and the silence enjoined during that term, were still in force in the time of Strabo. The celibacy to be observed during this noviciate, the abstaining from the flesh of household animals, were laws

laws which they never transgressed, and which still subsist among them. They held one God, the creator, preserver, and avenger, and believed the fall and degeneracy of man; and this opinion is every where to be met with among the people of antiquity. *Aurea sata est ætus* is the device of all nations.

Apuleius, Quintus Curtius, Clemens Alexandrius, Philostratus, Porphyry, and Palladio, all agree in their encomiums on the extreme temperance and frugality of the bramins, their life of retirement and penance, their vows of poverty, and the contempt they shew for all the vanities of this world. St. Ambrose makes no scruple to prefer their manners to those of the christians of his time; though perhaps this may be one of those allowable exaggerations meant to correct the irregularities of his fellow citizens; and this panegyric on the bramins might be intended as salutary satire on the monks; and had St. Ambrose lived in India, he would probably have praised the monks, in order to put the bramins to the blush. However, we know, from a multitude of testimonies, that these men were every where in high reputation, on account of the sanctity of their lives.

That belief of one only God, for which they are so esteemed by all philosophers, continues with them, in the midst of the numberless idols with which their country abounds, and the extravagant superstition of the common people.

A French poet says, in one of his epistles, of which every line is almost a falsehood,

L'Inde

“ L’Inde aujourd’hui voit l’orgueilleux brachmane,
 “ Deifier brutalement zélé,
 “ Le diable même en bronze ciselé.”

“ ——— India beholds
 “ Her bramin, vain of fancy’d piety,
 “ Prostrate before his brazen deity,
 “ With brutal zeal e’en Satan’s name invoke.”

But certainly men who do not believe in a devil, will hardly invoke that devil. Such absurd reproaches are unsufferable. The devil was never adored in any one country in the world. The Manichæans themselves never paid any worship to the evil spirit, nor is it any where enjoined in the religion of Zoroaster. It is high time for us to lay aside the mean custom of calumniating all sects, and abusing all nations but our own.

I have in my hands a translation of one of the most antient manuscripts in the world. I do not mean the *Vedam* which is so much spoken of in India, and which has not hitherto been communicated to any of our European literati. It is the *Ezour-vedam*, an ancient commentary, composed by Chumontou on this *Vedam*, which the bramins pretend to be the most holy of all books, and to have been delivered by God himself to man. This commentary has been digested by a very learned bramin, who has done many great services to our India company, and who translated it himself out of the holy tongue into French *.

* I have made a present of this MS. to the king’s library, where any one may have a sight of it,

In the *Ezour vedam*, or commentary, Chumontou strongly attacks idolatry. He first quotes the words of the Vedam itself :

“ The Supreme Being has created all things,
 “ both animate and inanimate. There have
 “ been four different ages of the world ; every
 “ thing perished at the end of each age. The
 “ whole world was drowned, and a deluge is
 “ the passage from one age to another, &c.

“ When God existed alone, and no other
 “ being existed with him, he formed the design
 “ of creating the world. He at first created
 “ time, and then the water and the earth,
 “ and from the mixture of the five elements,
 “ namely, earth, water, fire, light and air,
 “ he formed the different bodies, and gave them
 “ the earth as their basis. He made the globe
 “ we inhabit oval, or in the shape of an egg.
 “ In the midst of the earth is the highest of all
 “ mountains, whose name is Meron, (i. e.
 “ *Immaus*.) The first man created by God was
 “ called *Adimo*, his wife’s name was *Procriti*.
 “ Of *Adimo* was born *Brama*, who was the
 “ lawgiver of nations, and the father of the
 “ bramins.”

How many curious things are here in a few words ! The first that presents itself to us is this important truth, that God is the creator of the world : then follows the primitive source of the old fable of the four ages, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron. All the principles of ancient divinity are included in the Vedam. We there find the Deucalidonian deluge, which is only an emblem of the prodigious trouble that men found in those times to drain the ground, which the negligence of their forefathers

thers had suffered to lie under water. The quotations in this Vedam, or holy manuscript, are all of them surprising. We there find the following admirable sentence word for word :

“ God never created sin, nor can he be the author thereof. God, who is wisdom and holiness, created only virtue.”

The following is one of the most singular passages in the Vedam :

“ When the first man came from the hand of God, he said to him, There will be different occupations on the earth, every man will not be fit to exercise all, how are we to distinguish such as are proper for each ? God answered him; Those who are born with a greater knowledge of, and inclination for virtue than the rest, shall be bramins. Those who partake the most of *rosogoun*, (*i. e.* ambition) shall be warriors, those who partake the most of *tomogun* (*i. e.* avarice) shall be merchants, and those who partake the most of *comogun* (*i. e.* bodily strength, and a limited understanding) shall be employed in servile labours.”

In these words we have the true original of the *four casts* in India, or rather of the four conditions of human society ; for indeed, on what can the inequality of these conditions be founded, but on an inequality of talents ? The Vedam goes on and says,

“ The Supreme Being has neither body nor figure ;” and the Ezour-vedam adds, “ All such who give the Deity hands or feet, are fools or madmen.” Chumontou then quotes these words of the Vedam :

“ When

“ When God took all things from nothing,
 “ he created a distinct individual of each species,
 “ willing that it should contain its own germ
 “ within itself, in order to produce its like.
 “ He is the sovereign and lord of all things.
 “ The sun is but a body without life and
 “ knowledge, and is, in the hands of God, like
 “ a candle in the hands of a man.”

After this, the author of the commentary, as
 he is attacking the opinion of the modern bra-
 mins, who admit several incarnations in the
 gods *Brama* and *Wijnou*, expresses himself
 thus :

“ Tell me, blind and senseless man, who
 “ were *Kochiopo* and *Odite*, of whom thou sayest
 “ thy god was born? Were they not mortals
 “ like us? Shall then that God, who is pure
 “ in his nature, and eternal in his essence,
 “ stoop to lose himself in the embraces of a
 “ woman, in order to take a human shape?
 “ Dost thou not blush to represent that God
 “ to us, in the posture of a suppliant before
 “ one of his creatures? Hast thou lost thy un-
 “ derstanding? or art thou come to that
 “ height of impiety, as not to blush at mak-
 “ ing the Divine Being act the part of an im-
 “ postor and a liar?——Cease then to de-
 “ ceive mankind; and on this condition, and
 “ this only, I will explain to thee the *Vedam*;
 “ for if thou remainest in the same sentiments,
 “ thou art incapable of understanding it, and
 “ it would be profanation to attempt to teach
 “ it thee.”

In the third book of this commentary, the
 author refutes the fable of the incarnation of the
 god *Brama*, invented by the modern bramins,
 who

who pretend he appeared in India, under the name of *Kopilo*, that is to say, the Penitent, and that he chose to be born of *Dehobuti*, the wife of a man in good circumstances, whose name was *Kordomo*.

“ If it is true, says the commentator, that Brama was born upon earth, how came he eternal? Would he, who is supremely happy, and in whom alone is our happiness, have submitted to suffer all the pains and inconveniencies of an infant, &c.”

After this there follows a description of hell, exactly like that which the Egyptians and Greeks have given us of Tartarus. “ What must we do, it then says, to avoid hell?” “ We must love God, replies the commentator Chomontou; we must do what is ordered in the Vedam, and in the manner there prescribed. There are, says he, four ways of loving God. The first is, to love him for his own sake, and without any self-view; the second is, to love him thro’ interest; the third is, to love him only in those moments when our passions are predominant; and the fourth is, to love him only for the sake of obtaining the object of those passions; and this last way does not deserve the name of love.”

This is the summary of the most remarkable passages in the *Vedam*, a book hitherto unknown in Europe, and to almost all Asia.

The bramins have degenerated more and more. The *Cormoredam*, which is their ritual, is a collection of superstitious ceremonies, which would make any one laugh who is not born on the borders of the Ganges or Indies;
or,

or in other words, any one, who not being a philosopher, is surprised at the follies of other nations, and not at those of his own country. As soon as an infant is born, it must have the word *oum* pronounced over it, or it will be for ever unhappy. Its tongue must then be rubbed with consecrated meal. Certain prayers are to be said over it, and at each prayer, the name of some god is to be pronounced. The third day of the new moon, the child is to be laid in the open air, with its head turned towards the north.

The detail of every trifling circumstance is immense. The whole is a collection of all the follies, wherewith the study of judicial astrology can have inspired the brains of an ingenious but extravagant, or designing body of learned men. The whole life of a bramin is taken up with these ceremonious triflings. They have a particular ceremony for every day of the year. Mankind seem to have become weak and effeminate in India, in proportion as they have been subjected; and there is great appearance, that after each conquest they were loaded with new ceremonies, and new penances. Sezac, Madies, the Assyrians, the Persians, Alexander, the Arabians, the Tartars, and in our own days Sha Nadir, by their successive incursions and ravages in this beautiful country, have formed a nation of devotees, of those whom nature had not formed for war.

Their pagods, or temples, were never so rich as in times of the greatest misery and humiliation. Each of these pagods has a considerable revenue belonging to it, which is farther increased by the offerings of the devout. When
a raja

a raja (or Indian nobleman) passes by a pagod, he immediately alights from his horse, his camel, his elephant, or his palanquin, and walks on foot till he is out of the district of that pagod.

The ancient commentary on the Vedam, from which I have given the above extracts, appears to me to have been written before the time of Alexander's conquests in India, for we meet with none of those names which the Greek conquerors gave to the rivers, towns, and provinces of that country. India itself is called *Zomboudipo*; mount Immaus, *Merou*; and the Ganges, *Zenoubi*. These ancient names are at present known only to those learned in the holy language.

The ancient purity of the religion of the first bramins subsists no longer, except among a few of their philosophers, and these do not give themselves the trouble of instructing a people who will not receive instruction, and who indeed deserve it not. They would even run some hazard in attempting to undeceive them; the ignorant bramins would set up the cry of heresy and impiety, in which they would be joined by the women, who are devoted to the service of their pagods, and fond, to a degree of enthusiasm of all the little superstitious ceremonies employed therein. Whoever attempts to teach his fellow-citizens reason, is sure of being persecuted for his pains, unless he has the arm of power on his side; and we generally find, that those who use the arm of power, rivet the chains of ignorance instead of breaking them.

The Mahometan religion is the only one that has made any great progress in India, especially

ally among the higher rank of people: the reason is, that it is the religion of the sovereign, and that it teaches the worship of one God, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the bramins, Christianity has not met with the same success in this country, notwithstanding the evident holiness of its doctrine, and the numerous settlements of the Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, and Danes: and indeed this mixture of nations may have been the chief hindrance to the progress of our holy faith: for as they all hate each other, and frequently are at war between themselves in this country, it has made the doctrine they teach despised. Moreover, the Indians are disgusted with our customs, and scandalized to see us drink wine, and eat flesh-meats, which they hold in abhorrence. The conformation of our organs of speech, which occasions us to pronounce the Asiatic languages so badly, is another almost insurmountable obstacle; but the greatest is the difference of opinions which divide our missionaries. Those of the catholic communion oppose those of the church of England, these latter the Lutherans, who are again opposed by the Calvinists; thus, every one contradicting another, and all pretending to publish the voice of truth, and mutually charging each other with falsehood, confound a simple and peaceable people, who view, with astonishment, a set of furious men crowding into their country from the western extremities of the earth, to cut each others throats on the borders of the Ganges.

It must be confessed that we have had some missionaries in that part of the world, who have commanded respect by their piety, and the gentleness

tleness of their manners, and who cannot be accused of having exaggerated their labours or their successes. But all those who have been sent from Europe to make converts in Asia, have not been men of understanding and virtue. The famous Nelcamp, author of the History of the Tranquebar Mission, acknowledges, "That the Portuguese filled the seminary of Goa with malefactors who had been condemned to banishment, who being afterwards made missionaries, could not even in that character forget their old trade." Our holy religion has made very little progress in these parts; and none at all in the dominions immediately subject to the Great Mogul. Mahometanism and the religion of Brama continue to divide this vast continent between them.

M A H O M E T.

Vol. I. **T**HERE never was a conqueror or legislator whose chap. IV. life has been written with greater p. 41, 42. authenticity, or handed down to us with a more circumstantial exactness, than that of Mahomet, by those writers who were his contemporaries. If we divest it of those miracles, with a belief of which the people of that part of the world were infatuated, we shall have an account agreeable to known truths in all its parts. He was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, in April 579, according to our vulgar æra. His father's name was *Abdala*, that of his mother *Emena*. It is beyond contradiction that his family was one of the most considerable of its

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tribe,

tribe, which was that of Korah. But the genealogy which makes him to be descended in a right line from Abraham, appears to be one of those fables invented by the natural desire which mankind have to impose upon one another.

The manners and superstitions of the primitive ages, of which we have already taken a review, were still preserved in Arabia, as will appear by the vow which Abdalah Moutaleb, the grandfather of Mahomet, made to offer one of his children in sacrifice. A priestess of the temple of Mecca, ordered him to redeem his son by offering a certain number of camels, which the exaggeration common among the Arabians makes to amount to an hundred. This priestess was dedicated to the service of a star, which is supposed to have been Sirius, or the dog-star, for each tribe had its particular star or planet; they also paid divine honours to genii and demi-gods, but still acknowledged a superior Deity; and in this respect almost all nations seem to be agreed.

Abdalah Moutaleb is said to have lived to the age of an hundred and ten; his son Mahomet carried arms when he was only fourteen years old, in a war upon the confines of Syria; but being afterwards reduced to very low circumstances, one of his uncles placed him as factor to a widow woman called Cadesche, who exercised the profession of a merchant; at this time he was twenty-five years of age. This widow soon after took her young factor for her husband, and Mahomet's uncle, who brought about this match, gave his nephew twelve ounces of gold, or near nine hundred franks of our money*,

* About 37l. sterling.

which

which was the whole patrimony of him who was one day to change the face of the most extensive and beautiful country in the world. Mahomet lived in obscurity with his mistress, now his wife, to the age of forty.

* * *

Id. page 43] Mahomet resolved within himself to root out of his country the doctrine of the Sabæans, which consists in a medley worship of the true God and of the stars ; Judaism, which is held in abhorrence by the nations, and which at that time began to make a considerable progress in Asia ; and lastly, Christianity, which he knew only by the irregularities and ill conduct of the several sects spread over the face of the country. He designed to restore the simple worship of Abraham, whose descendant he pretended to be, and to bring all mankind to believe in the only God ; a tenet which he thought grievously changed and mutilated in all religions. This he in effect declares himself in the third sura or chapter of his Alcoran, where he thus expresses himself, “ God knows, and ye do not know. “ Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but “ a believer of the true God. He had given his “ heart to God, and was not of the number of “ idolators.”

It is probable that Mahomet, like all enthusiasts, being forcibly struck with his own ideas, uttered them at first as he felt them ; these growing afterwards more strong by being often repeated, he deceived himself while he was deceiving others ; and at length he had recourse to imposture to support a doctrine which he thought right. He began by establishing his credit as a prophet with those of his own family, which

was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. His wife and young Ali, the husband of his daughter Fatima, were his first disciples.

He quickly found that his countrymen were incensed against him, on account of the innovations he wanted to introduce ; but this was no more than what he had reason to suspect. His answer to the threats of the Korashites, at once paints the character of the man, and shews the method of expression used by those of his nation. " Though ye were to come against me, says " he, with the sun in one hand, and the moon " in the other, I would not depart from my " purpose."

He had raised only sixteen disciples, four of which were women, when he was obliged to make them quit Mecca, on account of the persecution raised against them ; and sent them to preach his religion in Æthiopia. He boldly remained behind, where he braved all his enemies, and continued making new converts, whom he sent into Æthiopia to the number of an hundred. But that which gave the greatest weight to his new religion, was the conversion of Omar, who, from having been a long time his persecutor, became his disciple. This Omar, who was afterwards a great conqueror, standing up in the middle of a numerous assembly, cried out with a loud voice, " I attest that there is " but one God, that he has neither companion " nor equal, and that Mahomet is his servant " and prophet."

* * *

Id. page 45.] Mahomet undoubtedly was neither ignorant nor illiterate, as some have pretended. He must, on the contrary, have been a person

notwithstanding that their religion seems to be the professed foe of all polite accomplishments.

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See page 49.] This division sowed the first seeds of that great schism, which at present separates the two sects of Omar and Hali, the Sunni and the Chias, the Turks and the modern Persians.

* * *

The Arabians carried their superstitious respect for the Alcoran, so far as to believe that the original was written in heaven. The grand dispute was, whether this book was written from all eternity, or only in the time of Mahomet. The most devout espoused the opinion of its being eternal.

* * *

It is well worthy of observation, that Omar indulged the Jews and Christians, who inhabited Jerusalem, with full liberty of conscience.

* * *

Those who are fond of antiquity, and delight in comparing the geniuses of different nations, will be pleased to see the great resemblance between the manners and customs in the time of Mahomet, Abubeker and Omar, and those of which Homer has given us so faithful a portrait. They will here behold the chiefs of one party, defying those of the opposite party to single combat, and stepping forth from their respective ranks to decide the fate of the day in the presence of both armies, who remain inactive spectators of the contest, while the combatants mutually interrogate each other, return defiance for defiance, and invoke the aid of the gods before they begin the fight. There were several of

these single combats fought at the siege of Damascus.

It is evident that the combat of the Amazons, mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, were not founded upon fabulous reports, for the women of the tribe of Himear in Arabia Felix were warriors, and fought in the armies of Abubeker and Omar. However we are not to believe that there was a nation of Amazons, who lived without having any intercourse with men. But in those ages and countries where every one lived a rude and pastoral life, it is not to be wondered at, that women who were bred up as hardy as the men, should sometimes wield the sword as well as them. We have a particular instance in the siege of Damascus of one of these women of the tribe of Himear, who shot the governor of the city dead, with an arrow, in revenge for the loss of her husband, who was killed by her side.

This instance may serve to justify Ariosto and Tasso, who introduce so famous warriors in their poems.

History affords us several examples of the like nature in the time of knight-errantry. These customs, which were at all times rare, appear to us at present as wholly incredible, especially since the invention of artillery, which no longer gives room for the combatant to avail himself of his valour, skill, and agility; and when armies are become a kind of regular machine, that move, as it were, by springs.

The speeches of the Arabian heroes at the head of their armies in single combat, or in ratifying a truce, are entirely in that natural taste which

which we find in Homer, but incomparably more enthusiastic and sublime.

In the eleventh year of the Hegira, in a battle fought between the army of the emperor Heraclius, and that of the Saracens, the Mahometan general Derar, being taken prisoner, and the Mussulman forces being struck with a panic at the news, one of their captains, whose name was Rasi, riding up to them, cried out, "What matters it if Derar is taken prisoner or killed? God yet lives and looks upon you; fight on, countrymen." With this short and emphatical speech, he rallied them, and gained the victory.

Another cries out, "Yonder is heaven, fight the cause of God, and he will give you the dominion of the earth."

The Mahometan general Caled takes the daughter of the emperor Heraclius prisoner in Damascus, and sends her home without ransom; when he is asked the reason of acting thus, he replies, "Because I hope soon to take the father and daughter together in Constantinople."

When the Caliph Mohavia, on his death-bed, in the year of the Hegira 60, secured the succession, which till then had been elective, to his son Yesud, he expressed himself thus, "Great God! if I have settled my son on the throne of the Caliphs, from a belief that he was worthy of it, I beseech thee to confirm him on the same; but if I have only acted from the dictates of a father's fondness, I in like manner beseech thee to drive him headlong from it."

Every thing that happened in those times spoke the character of a nation and people superior to all others.

* * *

Id. page 56.] Algebra was one of the inventions of the Arabians. The word itself shews it to be from the Arabian *Algarubat*, unless we would rather have it derived from the name of the famous Arabian Geber, who was the first who taught this art in the eight century according to the Christian æra.

Of the ALCORAN and the MAHOMETAN LAW.

WE have already seen what were the manners of Mahomet and his countrymen, by whom a great part of the world underwent so surprising and quick a revolution. It now remains to give a faithful description of their religion.

Id. page 44.] We have long entertained a mistaken notion that the great progress of the Mahometan religion was wholly owing to the indulgence it gives to the sensual passions; but we do not reflect that all the ancient religions of the East allowed a plurality of wives; Mahomet reduced the number to four, which before his time was not limited at all.

It has been a matter of great dispute among politicians, whether polygamy is really beneficial to society and propagation. The eastern practice seems to have decided this question pretty clearly in the affirmative; and nature appears to give her testimony in favour of this decision, with respect to almost every species of the animal

person of great learning for one of his nation, and the times he lived in, since we have some medical aphorisms of his ; and that we know he corrected the Arabian calendar, as Cæsar did that of the Romans. He was a poet, as appears by his Koran, the last verses of every chapter being in rhyme, and the rest in measured prose ; and this air of poetry contributed not a little to render his book respectable ; for the Arabians held poetry in the highest esteem, and wherever there happened to be a good poet in any of their tribes, the other tribes sent a kind of ambassador, with compliments of congratulation to that which had produced an author, whom they looked upon as inspired, and an useful member. The best productions of this kind were fixed up in the temple of Mecca, and where the second chapter of Mahomet's Koran was placed there, which begins thus, " There is no room for " doubt; this is the knowledge of the righteous, " and of those who believe in the holy myste- " ries, who pray at the proper times, who give " with liberality, &c." One Abid, who at that time bore the palm as the first poet in Mecca, tore down his own verses which had been hung up in the temple, and from an admirer became a disciple of Mahomet. These are manners, customs, and facts, totally different from any amongst us ; and may serve to shew us what an amazing variety of colouring is in the great picture of nature, and how cautious we should be not to judge of the manners and customs of other nations by those of our own.

Id. page 48.] Notwithstanding the strong conformity of manners between the Ismaelites, and the ancient Hebrews, as to their enthusiasm

and thirst after plunder, yet the former were greatly superior to the latter in courage, generosity, and magnanimity. Their history, both true and fabulous, before the time of Mahomet, abounds with examples of friendship, equal to any in the Grecian fables of Pylades and Orestes, Theseus and Pirithoüs. The history

See page 57 and of the Barmecides is one continued tale of unexampled generosity, which transports the

soul with admiration in the recital. These instances characterise a nation. On the contrary, we do not meet with one generous action in all the Hebrew annals. They were strangers to hospitality, generosity, and clemency. Their greatest happiness consisted, and still does, in exercising the most rapacious usury towards strangers; and this spirit of usury, which is the foundation of all baseness, is engrafted in their hearts, which is the perpetual object of figures which may employ us in that kind of eloquence peculiar to themselves. They glory in laying waste, with fire and sword, those defenceless towns or villages, of which they can make themselves the masters. They put to death all the old men and children, reserving only young maidens who are marriageable. They assassinate their masters, when they are slaves, and never listen to mercy when they are conquerors; in a word, they are enemies of human kind. We find not the least footsteps of politeness, knowledge, or any one of the useful or agreeable arts among this pest of barbarians. But after the second age of the Hajaira, the Arabians became the preceptors of Europe in the arts and sciences,

not-

As to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies to be practised in the Kaaba, and on the black stone, almost every one knows that this had been a favourite piece of devotion among the Arabians for many ages. The Kaaba was held to be the most ancient temple in the world; and although no less than three hundred idols were helped therein at that time, the holiness of the place was derived principally from the black stone, which was said to have been the tomb-stone of Ishmael. Therefore, Mahomet, in order to ingratiate himself with his countrymen, made it a fundamental precept of his religion, to visit this precious monument of antiquity at least once in a person's life.

Fasting was a religious rite observed by almost every nation, particularly by the Jews and Christians. Mahomet made it extremely strict, by extending it to a whole lunar month, or twenty-eight days, during which time it was not permitted even to taste a drop of water, or to smook, till after sun-set, and the lunar month frequently falling out in the midst of summer, this ceremony was found so very severe, that they were at length obliged to mitigate it, especially in time of war.

All religions recommend the giving of alms; the Mahometan is the only one that enjoins it as a lawful precept, that may not on any account be dispensed with. The Alcoran commands every one to set apart two and an half per cent. of their income for this purpose, either in money or goods.

In all the positive ordinances of Mahomet, we find nothing but what was founded on the most established customs, and consecrated by
long

long antiquity. In the negative precepts, such as those which enjoin the abstaining from any particular practice, that of not drinking wine is the only one that is new and peculiar to this religion. This prohibition, of which the Musselmans so much complain, and with the observance of which they frequently dispense, especially in cold climates, was given in a fiery climate, where the drinking of wine made men easily liable to the loss of their health and reason. But furthermore, it was no new thing for persons devoted to the service of God, to abstain from this liquor. Several societies of priests in Egypt and Syria, and the Nazarenes and Rechabites among the Jews, did voluntarily impose this mortification on themselves.

There was nothing in this injunction that could disgust the Arabians; and Mahomet could not possibly foresee that it would one day become insupportable to his followers in the frozen regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Servia. He never imagined that his countrymen would one day penetrate into the heart of France, and Turks of his religion wave their colours on the ramparts of Vienna.

The same may be said of the prohibition of eating pork, blood, or the flesh of beasts dying of any disease; these are precepts of health. The flesh of swine in particular is a very unwholesome food in those hot countries, as well as in the Palestine, that lies in their neighbourhood. When the Mahometan religion spread itself into colder climates, this abstinence ceased to be reasonable; but nevertheless did not cease to be in force.

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mal creation, where there is but one male to several females. The time lost in breeding, in bringing forth, and in the other disorders incident to the female sex, seems to call for some opportunities of reparation. The women in hot countries are soon past their bloom, and cease to bear children. The head of a family, who places his glory and prosperity in the number of his children, has an absolute necessity for another woman to supply the place of a wife, who is no longer in a condition to answer the purposes of marriage. Our laws in the West seem to be more favourable to the woman; those of the East to the men and to the government. There is no one object of legislature, but which may be made the subject of dispute. But as we have not room here for entering into a dissertation, we shall confine ourselves to the description of men and manners, without passing judgment on them.

Ibid.] We every day hear people exclaiming against the sensual paradise of Mahomet; but the ancients knew no other. Hercules had Hebe given him to wife in heaven, as a reward for his labours on earth. Heroes were regaled with nectar at the tables of the gods; and as man was supposed to rise again after death with all his senses about him, it was likewise very natural to suppose that he would taste, whether in a garden or in any other mansion, those pleasures which were the objects of the senses that he still retained. And this belief was likewise that of the fathers of the church in the second and third century. St. Justin, in the second part of his Dialogues, expressly says, that “Jerusalem shall
“ be enlarged and beautified to receive the saints,
“ who

“ who will there enjoy the highest pleasures, during a thousand years.”

An hundred writers copying after one, tell us, that the Alcoran was composed by a Nestorian monk. Some have given this monk the name of Sergius ; others call him Boheira. But it is evident that the chapters of the Alcoran were written occasionally by Mahomet during his several journies and military expeditions. Quere, Had he this monk always at his elbow ?



The Alcoran is not an historical book, in which the author has aimed at an imitation of the sacred writing of the Hebrews, and of our holy gospels ; neither is it a book purely containing a body of laws, like those of Deuteronomy and Leviticus ; nor is it a collection of psalms and spiritual songs, nor a prophetic vision and allegory, like the Apocaiypse : It is a mixture of all these several kinds of writing ; a body of homilies, in which we meet with some historical facts, some visions, some revelation, and some laws, both civil and religious.

The Alcoran is become the code of jurisprudence, as well as of the canonical law, with all the Mahometan nations.



The commentators on the Alcoran always make a distinction between the positive and the allegorical sense of the several passages in that book ; that is, between the letter and the spirit. The Arabian genius is equally discernible in the comment as in the text. One of the most approved commentators has this expression to denote the letter and the spirit : “ The Koran,”
says

says he, " sometimes wears the face of a man, " and sometimes that of a beast."

There is one thing that will perhaps surprise the generality of readers, namely, that there is nothing new in the law of Mahomet, save only the tenet, that Mahomet is the prophet of God.

In the first place, the unity of a Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of the universe, is a doctrine of a very ancient date. The rewards and punishments of a future state, the belief of an heaven and an hell, had been long perceived among the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, and particularly the Christians, whose holy religion seemed to sanctify this doctrine.

The Alcoran acknowledges the influence of angels, and genii or guardian spirits; that of a resurrection and last judgment, was obviously taken from the Jewish Talmud, and the doctrine of the Christians. The thousand years which, according to Mahomet, God will employ in judging mankind, and the manner of that judgment, are adventitious circumstances, which in no wise hinder this notion from being entirely borrowed. The sharp point over which those who arise at the last day are to pass, and from which the damned are to fall headlong down to hell, is taken from the allegorical doctrine of the Magi.

Id. pag. 44.] It was from these very Magi, and their *Jannat*, that Mahomet first took his ideas of a paradise or garden, where men, after rising again to life, with all their faculties in perfection, to taste by their senses, all those pleasures which are peculiar to their nature, and which
without

ADDITIONS TO

without those senses would be useless and of no effect. Here he learnt notions of the *Houris*, or those heavenly women, who are to be the portion of the blest, and which the Magi in their *Sadder* call *Hourani*. Mahomet does not exclude women from his paradise, as we have so often heard reported. This is only a raillery without foundation, such as every nation casts upon another. He promises his followers that they shall dwell in a delicious garden, which he calls paradise; but the height of their felicity is to consist with the beatific vision and intercourse with the Supreme of all beings.

The doctrine of fatality, and absolute predestination, which seems in our days to be the peculiar characteristic of the Mahometan faith, was the opinion of all the ancients, and prevails as much in the *Iliad* as in the *Alcoran*.

With regard to legal ordonnances, such as circumcision, washing, prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahomet in these only conformed himself to the established customs of his time. Circumcision had been a practice from time immemorial among the Arabians, the ancient Egyptians, the people of Colchis, and the Jews. Ablution or washing had been always recommended in the East, as an emblem of the purity of the soul.

Id. page 43.] Prayer is enjoined by every religion; that of Mahomet obliged its followers to pray five times a day; this was a great restraint, but a restraint highly laudable and respectable. Would any one dare to complain that the creature was obliged to worship his Creator five times in a day?

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The prohibiting all games of chance, is perhaps the only law of which no example is to be found in any other religion. It resembles the rule of a convent, rather than a general law to be observed by a whole nation. Mahomet seems to have formed a people only to pray, to get children, and to fight.

His laws, which were all (except that of polygamy) so severe, and the plainness and the simplicity of his doctrine, soon gained his religion respect and credit. And above all, the tenet of the unity, delivered without mystery, and suited to the most ordinary capacity, brought a multitude of nations to embrace his faith, even from the negroes on the coast of Africa, and those who inhabit the islands in the Indian ocean.

Ibidem.] This religion is called Islamism, which signifies resignation to the will of God; and this appellation was of itself sufficient to make a number of proselytes; and we may observe that Islamism has not established itself throughout one half of our hemisphere by dint of arms only, but by enthusiasm, the art of persuasion, and, above all, by the example of the conquerors themselves, which has always the most powerful effect on the conquered. Mahomet when he first took up arms in Arabia against his countrymen, who opposed his imposture, put to death, without mercy, all those who would not embrace his religion. He was not at that time sufficiently powerful to let those live who might afterwards subvert his infant faith. But as soon as he became settled in Arabia, by dint of preaching and the sword, his followers, when they made excursions beyond their own country, which till then they had never quitted, did not
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Id. page 47.] compel the strangers they conquered to become Mussulmans, but left it to their option either to profess the Mahometan religion, or pay a tribute. They were desirous of plunder, conquest, and making slaves ; but not of obliging those slaves to change their belief. When they were at length driven out of Asia by the Turks and Tartars, they made proselytes even of their conquerors ; and the wild hords of Tartars became a great Mahometan nation. By this we may see that they did in fact convert more people than they conquered.

The little I have here said is a downright contradiction to what has been advanced by a number of our historians and declaimers, and even to our own general received opinion ; but nevertheless, the truth should prevail against error or prejudice, and ought never to be violated by those who write history. Although the Mussulman law-giver, who was a powerful and terrible conqueror, established his tenets by his courage, and the success of his arms ; yet his religion became in time a religion of indulgence and toleration. On the other hand, the divine instructor of christianity, who himself lived an example of humility and peace, taught us to pardon those who had offended us ; and yet we see his holy religion has, by the mad zeal of its followers, become the most insupportable of any.

The Mahometans, like us, have had their sects and scholastic disputes ; but there is no truth in what is pretended of their having seventy-three different sects amongst them. This is an idle story. They pretended that the Magi had seventy ; the Jews seventy-one ; the Christi-

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ans seventy-two ; and that the Mussulmans, as being the most perfect believers, must necessarily have seventy-three. A strange kind of perfection, and truly worthy the imagination of the schoolmen of all countries.

The different explanations of the Alcoran among the Mahometans gave rise to two principal sects, called the Orthodox and the Heretic. The Orthodox were the Sonnites, that is to say, the traditionists, or those doctors who were attached to the most ancient tradition, which serves as a supplement to the Alcoran. These are again divided into four sects, one of which still prevails in Constantinople ; the other in Africa ; the third in Arabia ; and the fourth in Tartary and Arabia ; and are all looked upon as equally necessary to salvation.

The Heretics are those who deny the doctrine of absolute predestination, or who differ from the Sonnites in some points in the schools. Mahometanism has had its Pelagians, its Sco- tists, its Thomists, its Molinists, and its Jan- senists. But yet all these sects have not pro- duced more revolutions than amongst us. For a sect to occasion any great commotions in a state, must attack the foundations of the pre- vailing sect, accuse it of impiety, and of being an enemy to God and men, and must set up a certain standard of opposition that may easily be perceived and understood by the common peo- ple, and under which they may, without much enquiry, raise themselves. Such was the sect of Haly, which set itself up for a rival to that of Omar ; but this grand schism was not established till about the sixth century, and reasons of state had

had a much greater share in this revolution than those of religion.

OF CHRISTIANITY.

Vol. I. **U**NDER Dioclesian the Christians did not only enjoy that liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their religion, in which the Roman state always indulged, all its subjects; put they likewise were admitted to a share in the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Several Christians were governors of provinces; and Eusebius mentions two by name, viz. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, who were officers of the palace, and on whom Dioclesian bestowed many favours. Therefore Id. page 64. whatever our pulpit orators have said or written against this emperor, is the effect of ignorance. So far from being a persecutor of the Christians, he raised them to such a pitch of power, that it was no longer in his power to suppress them.

Of the P O P E S.

Vol. I. **T**H E R E are but three ways of chap. vi. bringing mankind under subjection, namely, by civilizing them, by giving them certain laws and regulations for their observance; by employing religion in support of these laws; and lastly, by knocking one half of the nation on the head, in order to govern the other half with the more ease. I do not know of a fourth; and all these three require a chain of favourable circum-

circumstances. We must go back to the earliest ages of antiquity to find instances of the first ; and these are very doubtful. Charlemagne, Clovis, Theodoric, Albouin, and Alaric, made use of the last ; and the second has been adopted by the popes.

Id. page 75.] The pope had originally no other power in Rome, than St. Augustin would have had in the little town of Hippo. And even supposing St. Peter himself to have lived in Rome as is pretended, because one of his epistles is dated from Babylon, nay even had he been bishop of Rome, at a time when there was certainly no particular see existing, his residence in Rome could not have given him any title to the throne of the Cæsars ; and we have seen that the bishops of Rome, for the space of seven hundred years, looked upon themselves in no other light than that of servants.

Of the ANOINTING of KING PEPIN:

Idem, page 79. **T**HIS was an imitation of an ancient Jewish ceremony. Samuel poured oil on the head of Saul. The kings of Lombardy were thus consecrated ; and even the dukes of Benevento have adapted this custom. Oil was used in the installation of bishops ; and they thought to stamp a kind of religious character on the temporal crown, by annexing to it an ecclesiastical ceremony. A king of the Goths, named Vamba, was anointed in Spain with the holy oil, in the year 674. But when the Moors became masters of that country, they soon made this

this ceremony forgotten, and the Spaniards have not revived it since.

Pepin therefore was not the first anointed sovereign in Europe, as we read of very day. He had already received this holy unction from the hands of the English monk Boniface, who was a missionary in Germany, and bishop of Mentz; and who having been a long time on his travels in Lombardy, consecrated him after the fashion of that country.

Let us not forget to observe in this place, that this Boniface had been created bishop of Mentz by Carloman, brother to the usurper Pepin, without the concurrence of the Pope; nor had the court of Rome any influence or intervention at that time in the nominating to bishopricks in the kingdom of the France. Nothing can be a more convincing proof, that all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, are dictated by expediency, maintained by force, destroyed by want of power, and changed by time. The bishops of Rome pretended to absolute authority, but had it not. The popes, when under the yoke of the Lombard kings, would have made over all their ecclesiastical authority in France, to the first person of that nation who would have delivered them from the yoke they groaned under in Italy.

Pope Stephen stood in greater need of the assistance of Pepin, than this latter did of him, as appears plainly by the priest's imploring the protection of the warrior. The new king caused himself to be again anointed by the bishop of Rome, in the church of St. Denis in France. This fact appears somewhat singular; for it is not customary to be crowned twice, when the first

first ceremony is thought to be sufficient. It should appear then, that in the opinion of the common people, there was something more sacred and authentick in the person of a bishop of Rome, than in that of a German bishop; that the monks of St. Dennis, in whose church this second anointing was performed, affixed an idea of greater efficacy to the oil poured over the head of a Frank by a Roman prelate, than to that poured by the hands of a missionary of Mentz; and lastly, that the successor of St. Peter had a superior power to any other, to make an usurpation lawful.

Pepin was the first king anointed in France; and the only one that ever was so by a Roman pontiff. Clovis was neither crowned nor anointed king by bishop Remi; and he had reigned some years before he was baptized. Had he ever received the sacred unction, his successors would undoubtedly have kept up so solemn a ceremony, which soon afterwards became necessary. No monarch had been anointed before Pepin, who received the sacred unction in the abbey-church of St. Dennis.

It was not till three hundred years after the reign of Clovis, that Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, declared in his writings, that a pigeon had brought from heaven a phial called the holy Ampulla. Perhaps the good prelate thought by this story to give a religious sanction to the right of anointing kings, which the Metropolitans then began to exercise. This right, however, was established only by length of time, like all other customs; and these prelates did a considerable time afterwards perform this ceremony on all the kings from Philip I. to

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Henry

Henry IV. who was crowned at Chartres, and anointed with the Ampulla of St. Martin; the Leaguers being at that time in possession of the Ampulla of St. Remi.

It is true, these ceremonies add nothing to the right of kings; but they seem to encrease the veneration of the people.

It is not to be doubted that this ceremony of anointing, as well as the custom of carrying the kings of the Franks, Goths and Lombards, on a shield, came originally from Constantinople. The emperor Cantaculenes tells us himself, that it was a practice from time immemorial, for the emperors to be carried on a shield, upon the shoulders of the patriarch and principal officers of the empire; after which the emperor quitting his throne, went up to a desk in the church, where the patriarch made the sign of the cross on his head, with a feather dipt in oil, which had been consecrated for the purpose. The crown was then placed on the head of the new Cæsar, by a chief officer of state, or a prince of the Imperial family; the patriarch and people crying out, *He is worthy*. But at the anointing of the sovereign of the West, the bishop addressed himself to the people, saying, "Will you accept this person for your king?" And then the new monarch took an oath to his people, after having taken it in the first place to the bishops.

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See note, page 79.] All the events of these times were a continued chain of injustice, rapine and imposture. An head-servant of Childeric III. king of France, deposed his master, and confined him in the convent of St. Bertin; kept

kept the son of his sovereign a prisoner in the convent of Normandy; and a pope comes from Rome to sanctify these rebellious proceedings.

Of the PAPAL POWER.

Idem, page 81, 82, 83. **T**HE Franks, after having conquered the Gauls, were desirous of subduing Italy likewise; the dominion of this country had always been the favourite object of all the barbarous nations, not that Italy was in itself a better country than Gaul, but it was at that time better cultivated; the towns and cities which had been built, beautified, or enlarged by the Romans, were still in a good condition; and the fruitfulness of Italy had always been a strong temptation for a restless, poor, and warlike people. If Pepin could have made the conquest of Lombardy, as Charlemagne did, he undoubtedly would have done it; and if he did conclude a treaty with Astolphus, it was owing to the exigency of circumstances, he not being sufficiently established on the throne of France, which he had lately usurped, having the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony to contend with, whose rights to those countries were much better than those of Pepin to the kingdom of France. How then could he have bestowed so many lands on the popes, when he was forced to return back to France to support his usurpation there?

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Observe the different degrees through which the pontifical power has passed. The first bishops of Rome were indigent and obscure persons,

sons, who preached the word to others as poor as themselves in cells and caverns in Rome. In the space of two centuries we find them at the head of a considerable flock; under Constantine they are rich and respected; they become patriarchs of the West, they acquire immense possessions in lands and money, and at length grew to be powerful sovereigns; and thus have almost all things deviated from their first origin. Were the antient founders of the Roman, and Chinese empires, and that of the caliphs, to rise again to life, they would behold their thrones filled by Goths, Turks, and Tartars.

OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I.

ch. vii.--xi.

THE great respectation of Charlemagne is one of the strongest proofs that success sanctifies injustice, and confers glory. His father Pepin, at his death, divided his dominions between his two sons Carloman and Charles. This will was ratified in an assembly of the nation. Carloman had for his portion Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Swisserland and Alsace; Charles had all the rest for his share. The two brothers always lived at variance with each other. Carloman died suddenly, leaving a widow and two children very young. Charles immediately seized upon their patrimony, and their mother was obliged to fly with her children for refuge to the court of Desiderius king of the Lombards, whom we call Dedier. This Dedier was a natural enemy to the Franks, and the father-in-law to Charlemagne had as great an hatred to him, because he feared him. It is cer-

certain that Charlemagne had no greater regard to the law of nature, and the ties of blood, than other conquerors.

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Charles sent several colonies of Franks to settle in the territories he had conquered. We have no instance of any prince thus transporting his subjects without their consent. You may have observed great emigrations, but no one sovereign who thus established colonies after the old Roman method. It is a strong proof of the policy and stretch of despotic power, to oblige men to quit the place of their nativity.

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Chap. ix. page 100.] Desiderius was obliged to deliver the sister-in-law of Charles and her children into the hands of the conqueror. History does not inform us whether they were shut up in a cloister, as well as their protector, or if they were put to death.

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Id. page 103, and chap. xv. page 164.] It was the custom of the senate of Rome to write to the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna, when there was one, "We humbly pray that you will order the consecration of our father and pastor." The metropolitan of Ravenna likewise came in for his share of the complement. The pope elect was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith. How different from the authority of the tiara! but where is that greatness which may not be traced back to as low a beginning?

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Id. page 108, 109.] This man, who shed such a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patrimony, and was suspected of incest,

has, by the church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her saints.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS in the
Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I.
chap. x. xi.

A Young barbarian named Chram makes war upon his own father Clotharius, regent of one part of Gaul. The father causes his son to be burnt, together with all his friends and accomplices who had been made prisoners. This happened in the year 559.

* * *

Europe was for so many ages like a strayed and timorous hind, devoured by hungry wolves and tygers in the midst of a desert.

* * *

Bishops had no share in the government till the reign of Pipin or Pepin, father of Charles Martel, and grandfather to the other Pepin, who made himself king; neither had they a seat in the assemblies of the French nation. They were all either Gauls or Italians, people considered as vassals; and tho' bishop Remi, the same who baptised Clovis, wrote to king Sicambrius the famous letter in which is the following expression: "Be sure you do not take the upper hand of the bishops; follow their counsels, for so long as you act in concert with them, your administration will be smooth and easy." Nevertheless, neither Clovis nor his successors made the clergy one of the orders of the state; and indeed the government was then altogether military, and cannot be more aptly compared than

than to the states of Algiers and Tunis, which are governed by a chief and a militia.

Page 115.] But when the majordomos, or mayors of the militia, insensibly usurped the supreme power, they endeavoured to strengthen their authority by the credit of the prelates and abbots, by calling them to the assemblies in the *Champs de mai*.

According to the annals of Metz, it was in the year 692, that mayor Pepin, the first of the name, procured this prerogative for the clergy; an æra which has been very negligently passed over by most historians, but which is very considerable, and deserving of notice, as it laid the first foundation of the temporal power of the bishops and abbots in France and Germany.



YOU ask whether Charlemagne, his predecessors or successors, were despotic? and if their kingdom was secured to them by right of inheritance in those times? It is certain that Charlemagne was despotic in fact, and consequently that his kingdom was hereditary, seeing that he declared his son emperor in full assembly of the states of the nation. The right is rather more doubtful than the fact. The rights of those times had the following foundation:

The inhabitants of the North and of Germany were originally a nation of hunters; and the Gauls, who were conquered by the Romans, were either husbandmen or burghers; now a people, who always went ready-armed for the chase, would naturally get the better of, and subject a set of clowns and shepherds, who were always employed in drudgery and labour; and still more easily of the quiet citi-

zens, who dwelt in unarmed security by their fire-sides. Thus the Tartars over-run Asia, and the Goths marched to the very gates of Rome. All the hords of Tartars, Goths, Huns, Vandals and Franks, were governed by chiefs. These wandering chiefs were chosen by plurality of voices, and it could not be otherwise, for what right could a thief have to lord it over his fellow-robbers? The most dexterous, bold and fortunate spoiler, must at length gain the sovereignty over those who did not possess those qualifications, so effectual to a life of rapine and plunder, in as high a degree as himself. They all shared equally in the booty, and this was a law that had subsisted in all times among every tribe of conquerors. If we would have a proof of the antiquity of this law, we need only turn to the story of the Frank, who would not suffer Clovis to take a silver cup belonging to the church of Rheims from the booty, and who cut the vessel in pieces with his battle-ax, without the chief daring to oppose him.

Clovis became despotic in proportion as he became powerful. This is the usual progress of human nature. It was the same with Charlemagne; he was the son of an usurper. The son of the lawful prince was shaven and condemned to say his breviary in a cloister in Normandy; Charlemagne was therefore obliged to observe the greatest precautions before a nation of warriors assembled in parliament. "We will ye know," says he in one of his capitularies, "that in consideration of our humility, and the readiness with which we observe your advice, out of fear of God; that ye, on your parts, take care to maintain the dignity
" which

“ which God hath bestowed on us, in like manner as your ancestors acted with regard to ours.”

His only ancestor, however, was his father, who had usurped the kingdom, and he himself had robbed his nephews of their birth-right. He flattered the great men while assembled in parliament; but the parliament once dissolved, woe to him who dared to contradict his will.

As to the succession, it was natural for the chief of a conquering people to endeavour to gain their suffrages, in favour of his own son, to succeed him. This custom of conferring the succession by election, became in time the most legal and inviolable of any, and still continues in force in the German empire: and the right of election was deemed to belong so peculiarly to the conquering people, that

when Pepin usurped the kingdom of the Franks, to Vol I. chap. vi. page 80.

whose king he had only been a domestic servant, pope Stephen II. who was in the usurper's interest, forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to elect for their king a descendant of any other race. This excommunication was indeed as striking an example of superstition, as Pepin's undertaking was of boldness; but this very superstition is a proof of the right of election, and shews that the conquering nation could chuse from among the descendants of its chief, the person who was most agreeable to it. The pope does not say, You shall not chuse for your king any other than the first-born of the house of Pepin, but You shall not chuse any but one of his family.

Charlemagne says, in one of his capitularies, “ If of one of the three princes, my sons, there

“ should be born a male child, whom it shall
 “ please the nation to call to the succession after
 “ his father, I will that his uncles do not oppose such succession.” It is evident by this title, and a multitude of others, that the French nation had, at least in appearance, a right of election. This custom was originally that of all nations: we find it established among the Jews, the other Asiatic nations, and the Romans. The first successors of Mahomet were elected; the sultans of Egypt, and the first Miramolins held their power by no other tenure, and it is only by length of time that a kingdom becomes entirely hereditary; valour, address, and necessity, are the only laws.

OF RELIGION in the Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I.
 chap. xii.
 page 127.

THE books called Carolins were written in a Latin tolerably pure, which shews that Charlemagne had succeeded in restoring literature; but, at the same time, they furnish an incontestible proof that there were never any theological disputes carried on without invectives on both sides. The very title of these books is itself an invective. “ In the name of
 “ our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, begins
 “ the book of the most illustrious and excellent
 “ prince Charles, &c. against the absurd and
 “ audacious symbol held by the Greeks for the
 “ adoration of images.” The title of this book makes king Charles to have been its author in the same manner as public edicts are issued

sued under the name of the reigning prince, tho' he may have no hand in forming them. It is certain that all the subjects of Charlemagne looked upon the Greeks as idolaters.

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Id. page 128, 129.] The dispute touching the Holy Ghost, which time and the erudition of the clergy afterwards cleared up, was then in a state of obscurity. Several passages were quoted from the fathers, and particularly from St. Gregory of Nice, where it is said, that "one of the three persons is the *cause*, and the other comes from the *cause*. One proceeds immediately from the first, and the other proceeds from him also, but by the means of the Son, by which means the Son reserves to himself the property of unity, without excluding the Holy Ghost from a relation to the Father."

These authorities did not at that time appear sufficiently demonstrative, and therefore pope Adrian II. did not come to a decision. That pontiff was very sensible that one may be a sound Christian without being able to penetrate these profound mysteries.

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Id. page 132.] In the first age of the church it was believed, that the world was near its end. This belief was founded on a passage in St. Luke, where these words are put into the mouth of our Saviour; "There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth; distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and waves roaring; mens hearts failing them for fear of those things which are coming on the earth; for

“ the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and
 “ then they shall see the Son of Man coming
 “ in a cloud, with power and great glory : and
 “ when ye see these things come to pass, know
 “ ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand.
 “ Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall
 “ not pass away till all be fulfilled.”

Several pious persons, who took this prediction according to the letter, which; say the commentators, regard Jerusalem only, thought that the world was on the point of being destroyed, and expected the approach of the last day, when Jesus Christ was to come in the clouds. Hence arose those numberless imaginary wonders that were beheld in the heavens.

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Id. page 134, 135] One would imagine that the precise date of the establishment of our church-rites should be known, and yet we are quite in the dark concerning this period. We do not know, for instance, at what time the mass, as now celebrated, first came into use. We are ignorant of the true origin of baptism by aspersion or sprinkling, of auricular confession, and of communicating with unleavened bread, and with bread only without wine ; neither do we know who first gave the name of sacrament to marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, or the anointing persons at the point of death.

* * *

Id. page 136, 137.] Auricular confession was not received so late as the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc and the Alps. Alwin complains of this in his letters. The inhabitants of those countries appear to have always had an inclination

tion to abide by the customs of the primitive church, and to reject the tenets and customs which the church in its more flourishing state judged convenient to adopt.



Id. page 138.] The weakness of the sex was sometimes the cause that women stood more in awe of their confessors than of their husbands. Almost all those who were confessors to queens availed themselves of that private and sacred empire they had over their penitents, to wriggle themselves into state-affairs; and when once a monk had gotten the ascendent over the mind of his sovereign, the rest of the fraternity took the advantage of it, and many of them made use of the credit of the confessor to wreak revenge on their enemies.



Id. page 139.] Idolatry, or the religion of image worshippers, must certainly consist in attributing a divine power and efficacy to images, or the representation of some particular person or thing; therefore this could not be the religion of the Scandinavians, because they had neither painter nor sculptor amongst them.

Of the PURGATIONS or TRIALS.

Vol. I. chap. xiii.

page 143, 144, 145.

YOU would know if these customs were first established by the Greek or the Latin church? We find examples of these trials at Constantinople as late as the thirteenth century, and Pachemire declares he was an eye-witness of it; it is probable, therefore,

fore, that the Latins received those oriental superstitions from the Greeks.

STATE of EUROPE after the Death
of LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE.

Vol. I. chap. xv.
page 160.

THE fate of the world always depends on the interests of princes: a Frank and a Salian founded the kingdom of France. The son of Pepin, a mayor or majordomo of the palace, held the empire of the Franks, which was ever divided by the quarrels of three brothers. These unnatural children, Lotharius, Lewis of Bavaria, and Charles the Bald, after spilling a deluge of blood at Fontenoy, at length disemembered the empire of their father Charlemagne by the famous peace of Verdun, by which Charles the Bald had France; Lotharius Italy, Provence, Dauphiny, Languedoc, Swisserland, Lorraine, Alsace and Flanders; and Lewis of Bavaria, or the Germanic, had Germany.

It is from this epocha that the most learned historians begin to give the name of French to the Franks. From this time Germany may date her private, as well as public laws; and this was the origin of the hatred between the Germans and the French. Each of the three brothers were disturbed in the enjoyment of his portion by ecclesiastical disputes, and those divisions and bickerings which always arise between parties who have been compelled to make peace against their wills.

Id. page 161.] In the midst of these discords and dissensions, Charles the Bald, the first
sole

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sole king of France, and Lewis of Bavaria, the first sole king of Germany, called a council against Lotharius, and this Lotharius I. is emperor, though stripped of his dominions in France and Germany.

Of the NORMANS.

Vol. I. chap. xvi.
page 174.

THE invention of battering rams to make a breach in walls, is of as ancient a date as walls themselves, for mankind are as industrious to destroy as to raise up. And here I must beg leave to step aside from my subject for a moment to observe, that the Trojan horse was absolutely the very same kind of engine, to which was fixed an horse's head of brass, in like manner as was afterwards that of a ram's. This we are told by Pausanias, in his description of Greece.

Of SPAIN and the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap. xviii.

YOU have seen states unfortunate and badly governed; but Spain, whose portrait we must now exhibit, did, for a long time, suffer the most deplorable calamities. The Barbarians who over-run the greatest part of Europe in the beginning of the 5th century, laid waste this country as well as they had done others: But how happened it that Spain, who defended herself bravely against the incursions of the Romans,

mans, fell so suddenly a prey to the Barbarians? The reason was this: At the time she was attacked by the Roman arms, she abounded in patriots, but when once subjected by that republic, her people became slaves, ill treated by effeminate masters; and she soon fell a prey to the Suevi, the Goths, and the Vandals. After these latter came the Visigoths, who now began to settle themselves in Aquitaine and Catalonia, while the Ostrogoths were subverting the Roman empire in Italy. These Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, as we know, outwardly Christians, but not of the Roman church, nor that of the eastern emperors, who reigned at that time, but of the communion which had been long received by the Greek church, and which believed in Jesus, but without admitting his equality with the Father. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were attached to the rites of the Roman church. Thus the conquerors and the conquered were of different faiths, which contributed to render the yoke of the latter more heavy. The dioceses were divided between Arian and Athanasian bishops, as in Italy; a division which still added to the sufferings of the nation. The Visigoth kings wanted to do the same in Spain as we have seen done since in Italy by the Lombard king Lotharius, and which Constantine did at his accession to the throne of the empire, that is, to unite by a liberty of conscience people who were divided by their particular tenets.

Lovegildus, king of the Visigoths, was desirous of uniting those who were the advocates for consubstantiability, and those who were against it. His son Hermigeld rebelled against him.

him. There was at that time a petty king of the Suevi, who was in possession of the country of Galicia, and some places in its neighbourhood. The rebellious Hermigeld made an alliance with his prince, and for a long time carried on the war against his father. At length, after refusing all invitations to return to his duty, he was defeated and taken prisoner in Cordova, where he was killed by one of his father's officers. The church of Rome has canonized him, regarding only that he fought for her religion, without considering that he made that religion a pretext for an unnatural rebellion against his father.

This memorable event happened in the year 584, and I relate it only as one of the many instances of the deplorable state to which Spain was then reduced.

The kingdom of the Visigoths was not hereditary. The bishops, who had then the same authority in Spain which they acquired in France under the Carlovingian race, raised up and deposed princes, and the leading men of the state at their pleasure. This was another source of continual disturbances; for example, they elected the bastard Liuva, to the prejudice of his brothers born in lawful wedlock: and this Liuva having been assassinated by a Gothic captain, named Witteric, they chose this Witteric to succeed him.

Wamba, one of the best of their kings, and of whom we have already spoken, having fallen sick, was clad in sackcloth, and submitted to do public penance by the advice of the priest, as the only method of obtaining a cure: he received his cure, but afterwards was declared incapable

pable of exercising the kingly office, having done penance, and was shut up for seven days in a monastery. This precedent was quoted in France at the deposition of Louis the Feeble:

The first Gothic conquerors who subjected Spain did not suffer themselves to be treated in this manner. They founded an empire which extended from Provence and Languedoc in Europe, to Ceuta and Tangier in Africa; but this empire being badly governed, soon
 Id. page fell to ruin. There were so many
 83. and rebellions in Spain, that at length
 Note. king Wilika disarmed his subjects, and dismantled several towns. In so doing he compelled them to obedience, but deprived himself of their assistance. In order to gain the clergy on his side, he convoked an assembly of the nation, and made an edict, by which bishops and priests were permitted to marry.

* * *

Id. page 185.] The conquerors of Xeres did not make an ill use of the success of their arms. They left the conquered the full enjoyment of their possessions, laws, and worship, contenting themselves with a tribute, and the honour of being masters; and not only the widow of king Roderic espoused young Abdalis; but after her example the Moors and Spaniards frequently mingled bloods. The latter, who had been scrupulously attached to their religion, quitted it in great numbers, in order to take the title of Mosarabians, which signified half Arabians, instead of that of Visigoths, which their nation till then had done. This name Mosarabian had nothing in it mortifying to the vanquished,

quished, as the Arabians were the most gentle of all conquerors, and brought with them into Spain new arts and sciences.



The title of Don is an abridgment of *Domini*, a title which the Roman emperor Augustus thought too ambitious, because it signified master. It was afterwards given to the Benedictine monks, then to the noblemen of Spain, and lastly to the king of that country. The lords of fiefs then first began to assume the title of *ricos hombres* (i. e. *rich men*) rich signifying he who had great possessions in land, the only wealth the Spaniards had at that time. The dignity of grandee was not then known, and the title of great was not in use till three centuries afterwards, in the reign of Alphonso, tenth of the name, king of Castile, at which time Spain began to be in a flourishing condition.

Of the GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. I. **B** Afilius, who murdered the emperor Michael the Young, is chap. xix. page 199. the same who was thought just when he deposed the patriarch Photius.



Id. 198, 199.] Did not the Switzers set fire to their villages and hamlets, in order to remove into Languedoc, when Cæsar compelled them to return and till their grounds? And what were Pharamond and Clovis but barbarians who had transplanted themselves, and did not meet with a Cæsar?

Of

OF PHOTIUS, &c.

Vol. I. **T**HE Greek church accused
chap. xxi. us of refusing to learn the
page 208, catechism, that we might not be
&c. Christians.

A MONK whipped for the SAVING
GRACE.

Idem, page 215. **I**N the year 814 a Benedictine monk, whose name was John Godescald, having raised some trifling contest concerning predestination and grace, the event proved how dangerous it is to meddle with these matters, and especially to dispute against a powerful antagonist. The same monk having taken certain expressions of St. Paul and St. Augustine in too literal a sense, thought proper to preach up the absolute and eternal predestination of a few elect, and a great number of damned. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man as violent in church matters, as in those of state, sent for this monk, and told him that he was predestinated to be tried, condemned, and whipped; and accordingly he was excommunicated in one of the lesser councils, held in the year 850, and then stripped naked in the presence of the emperor Charles the Bald, and flogged by monks from his shoulders to his legs.

This trifling contest, in which both parties were equally in the wrong, has been but too
much

much revived. In Holland you will find the synod of Dordrecht, which consisted of persons who favoured the doctrine of Godescal, treating those of Hincmar's sect there worse than with a simple flogging. Again, in France you will find the jesuits of Hincmar's party persecuting to the utmost of their power the Jansenists, who were attached to the tenets of Godescald. These disputes will end only when the number of philosophers shall exceed that of teachers.

Of the Emperor OTHO.

Vol. I. chap. xxvi. page 232. **H**OW could the emperor Otho, by an act confirming one made before by Charlemagne, bestow the sovereignty of Rome, which Charlemagne himself never bestowed? How could he make a present of the duchy of Beneventum, of which he was not in possession, and which at that time belonged to its own duke? How could he give away Corsica and Sicily, when those islands were occupied by the Saracens? Either Otho must have been greatly deceived, or this act is spurious.

* * *

Vol. I. chap. xxv. page 231.] The imprudence of John XII. in inviting the Germans to Rome, proved the source of all those troubles which Rome and Italy afterwards experienced.

Of

OF OTHO II. and III. and of ROME.

Vol. I.
chap. xxvii.

N Ever was Rome and the Latin church held in a more contemptible light at Constantinople than in these unhappy times. Leutprandus, ambassador from the emperor Otho I. to the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, tell us that the inhabitants of Rome were not called Romans, but Lombards, throughout the Imperial city, and the bishops of Rome were looked upon only as a schismatic banditti. St. Peter's having dwelt at Rome, was considered as an absurd fable, founded wholly on an expression of that apostle in one of his epistles, where he says he had been at Babylon, which had been interpreted to mean Rome. The Saxon emperors were also held in as low esteem at Constantinople, being looked upon as a set of barbarians.

And yet the court of Constantinople itself was very little superior to that of the German emperors; but there were more trade, industry, and riches, in the Greek empire than in the Latin, for every thing had fallen to decay in the West since the glorious days of Charlemagne. Brutality, debauchery, anarchy and poverty, prevailed in every state, and ignorance seemed to lord it with universal sway; and yet we do not hear of a greater number of miracles in these days than in other times. Every age has had them, and it is only since the establishing academies of arts and sciences in Europe, and the people are become more enlightened, that we

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no longer meet with them ; or if, by chance, some do now and then make their appearance, sound natural philosophy soon reduces them to their real value.

HENRY I. of FRANCE marries a RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

Vol. I. chap.
xxix. page
241, 252.

WE do not know whether that Russia, from which this princess came, was Black, Red, or White Russia ; whether this princess was born a Pagan, a Christian, or a Greek ; whether she changed her religion when she was married to the king of France ; nor how in those days, when all communication between the different nations and kingdoms of Europe was so very rare, the king of France came acquainted with a princess of the country of the ancient Scythians ; nor yet who proposed this strange match.

Of the STATE of FRANCE in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Idem, page
251, 252.

IN general, if we compare these two centuries with the present one, human nature will appear to have been then in its infancy, in every thing that respected government, religion, commerce, the arts and sciences, and the rights of the people.

It was in particular astonishing to behold the abject and scandalous state of the church of Rome,

Rome, and the power she had over all minds in the midst of her humiliation; the crowd of different popes created by the emperors; the slavish condition of those pontiffs; their exorbitant power when they became masters; and the great abuse they made of that power. Silvester

II. who was the same Gerbert Id. p. 249. who made such a noise on account of his learning in the tenth century, and was even thought to be a magician, because he had learnt a little arithmetic and some few elements of Geometry from an Arabian: This man, I say, who had been preceptor to Otho III. was driven from his archbishoprick of Rheims, by king Robert, and afterwards created pope by Otho III. is still reputed to have been a man of letters, and a wise pope. And yet Adhemar Chabanois, his cotemporary and admirer, tells us the following story of him in his chronicle.

Guy, viscount of Limoges, a French nobleman, had some dispute with Grimoard, bishop of Angoulême, touching certain rights belonging to the abbey of Brantome. The bishop excommunicates the viscount; and this latter imprisons the bishop. Such violent proceedings were but too common all over Europe, where force held the place of law.

So great was the reverence paid to the see of Rome in these times of general anarchy, that the bishop (after being released from his confinement) and the viscount both went from France, to plead their cause before pope Silvester II. in full consistory. When, who would believe it! the viscount was sentenced to be drawn asunder by four horses; which sentence would most

certainly

certainly have been executed upon him, had he not found means to make his escape. The outrages committed by this nobleman, in causing a bishop to be imprisoned, who was not his subject; the penitence he expressed for the same; his submission to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and the sentence equally absurd and inhuman of the consistory, altogether form a most lively portrait of the character of those brutal and uncivilized times.

The CONQUEST of ENGLAND
by WILLIAM DUKE of NORMANDY.

Vol. I. chap.
xxxii. page
270.

THE monks tell us, that Edward was the first king in Europe who had the gift of curing the king's evil. He had already restored sight to seven or eight blind persons; when a poor woman who was attacked with an obstruction, applied to him for relief, and he cured her instantly by touching her, and making the sign of the cross; so that from a state of barrenness, she afterwards became the mother of children. The kings of England ever afterwards arrogated this healing power to themselves; they did not indeed pretend to make the barren fruitful, or to restore sight to the blind; but to touch for the king's evil, which they frequently did without curing them.

St. Lewis, king of France, as lord paramount over the kings of England, touched likewise for the king's evil; and his successors preserved the

E

same

same right. William III. of England neglected it; and the time will come, when reason having made a little more progress in France, will totally abolish this custom there.

* * *

Id. page 271.] The custom of keeping a number of concubines, authorised throughout all the East, and by the Jewish law, was prohibited in the gospel dispensation. Nevertheless, general practice still gave a sanction to it; and so far was it from being considered as a matter of shame, that William the Conqueror frequently used to sign *William the Bastard*. There is still a letter of his extant, written to Allen, count of Brittany, with this signature. Bastards frequently shared in the inheritance left by their father; for in all countries where men were not governed by fixed laws, it is certain that the will of the prince would always be the reigning code.

* * *

Id. page 273.] The old chronicles tells us, an esquire named *Taillefer* or *Cut-iron*, being at the head of the Norman army on horseback, sang forth the famous song of Roland, which was so long in the mouth of every Frenchman, and of which there is not the least fragment remaining. This same Taillefer, after singing this song, in which he was accompanied by all the army, clapped spurs to his horse, and rode into the midst of the English forces, where he was presently cut in pieces.

* * *

Ibid.] Some writers term the crowning of William a free election; an act of authority of the parliament of England. It is indeed the
authority

authority of slaves, trained to war, who grant their masters the liberty of scourging them.

William having received a consecrated banner from the pope, when he set out on his English expedition, in return now sent his holiness the banner of king Harold, who had been slain in the battle, and a small share of the small treasure, which a king of England in those times could be supposed to be possessed of. This was a considerable present however for pope Alexander II. who was still disputing his see with Honorius II. and who, in consequence of a long civil war in Rome, was reduced to a state of indigence. Thus a Barbarian, the son of a prostitute, and the murderer of a lawful king, divides the spoils of that king with another barbarian; for, take away the titles of duke of Normandy, king of England, and pope, and we shall have only the action of a Norman thief, and a Lombard receiver; and to this, in fact, may every kind of usurpation be reduced.

Of the STATE of EUROPE in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. xxxiii. page 277. **T**HE dukes of Muscovy were not at that time called czars or tsars, or tchards; nor did they assume this title till after they became masters of those countries about Casan, which belonged to certain Tsars. Tsar is a Sclavonish term, taken from the Persian language; and in the Sclavonian Bible, king David is called Tsar David.

* * *

Id. page 279.] Albert, surnamed the Great, made a journey into Poland, purposely to root out their shocking customs ; but it was a considerable time before he could succeed. All the rest of the nation lived after a manner equally savage, the true state of human nature, before it had been changed by art.

Of SPAIN, and of the MOORS.

Vol. I chap. xxxiv. page 286. WE are not told whether the Cid's wife Chimene † embraced the Christian religion. The Moors at that time passed for a people of great consequence : and an alliance with them was deemed an high honour. The surname Rodriguez was Moorish ; and it is from hence that the Spaniards were called *Maranas*.

* * *

Id. page 27.] It was from the middle to the latter end of the eleventh century, that the Cid rendered himself so famous in Europe. This was the golden age of chivalry, but at the same time was the æra of the insolent attempts of Gregory VII. of the misfortunes of Germany, and of the first crusade.

† Or Ximena,

OF RELIGION and SUPERSTITION
in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. **T**HOSE who were called Max-
xxxv. page nicheans, and those who
291, 292. were afterwards named Albi-
genfes, Vaudois, Lollards, and
who appeared fo often under different names,
were remnants of the firft Gaulifh Christians,
who were attached to feveral ancient customs,
which the church of Rome thought proper to
alter afterwards; as likewise to certain vague
opinions, which that fame church adopted in
procefs of time; for example, thefe primitive
Christians knew nothing of image-worship.
They had never been enjoined auricular con-
fession. We muft not fuppofe, that, in the time
of Clovis, or thofe preceding his reign, the in-
habitants of the Alps were adepts in the dogma
of tranfubftantiation, and fuch like. In the
eighth century, Claude, archbifhop of Turin,
adopted moft of thofe opinions which at prefent
conftitute what is called the proteftant religion,
and pretended that they were thofe of the pri-
mitive church. There is almoft always a fmall
flock feparated from the principal one; and
from the beginning of the eleventh century,
this fmall flock was butchered or difperfed,
whenever it attempted to fhew its head.

* * *

Id. page 294, 295. “It is evident” fays
“Ratram, “that the bread and wine do not
“undergo any change, and therefore they
“muft be the fame that they were at firft;”

and concludes with this quotation from St. Augustine, "That the bread which is called the
" body, and the wine which is called the blood,
" are emblems, because the whole is a my-
" stery."

In whatever manner Ratram himself, or others, might understand this, they wrote against him. And much about the same time another Benedictine monk, named Pascasius Rathbert, passed for the first person who had explained the general opinion in express terms, by saying, "That the bread was the real body of our Lord,
" which was brought forth by the Virgin; and
" the wine mixed with the water, the real
" blood which flowed from his side, absolutely,
" and not figuratively." This dispute gave rise to the sect of the Stercorists or Stercoranists, who had the boldness to examine physically an object of faith, and pretended that the consecrated elements must undergo digestion, and be evacuated again like common aliments.

As these controversies were all carried on in Latin, and that the laity were in those times wholly occupied in warlike affairs, they seldom took part in such scholastic disputes; and by a happy consequence, they produced no mischievous effects. The common people had in general a vague and obscure idea of holy mysteries, and almost always received their articles of faith as they did their money, without being at the pains to weigh or examine it.

* * *

[Id. page 296.] It was after the controversy and condemnation of Berenger, that the church instituted the ceremony of elevating the host; that the people in having the object of their
adoration

adoration before their eyes, might no longer doubt of his reality, which had been so warmly disputed. But the term transubstantiation was not annexed to this mystery, nor adopted till the year 1215, at the council of Lateran.

The opinion of Scotus, Ratram, and Berenger, was not intirely buried, but was preserved by some of the clergy, from whom it was transmitted to, and received by the Vaudois, the Albigenſes, the followers of Hus, and the protestants, as we shall see hereafter.

You may have observed, that in all the disputes which have armed the Christians against each other, since the first rise of their church, the see of Rome has always sided with that doctrine which tended the most to degrade the human understanding, and obscure the light of reason. I here speak only as an historian; I set aside the inspiration and infallibility of the church, which make no part of history. It is certain, that, in making marriage a sacrament, they rendered conjugal fidelity a greater virtue, and adultery a more heinous crime; and that by inculcating the belief of the real presence of God in the bread and wine which were taken into the stomach, they filled the mind of the communicants with a more reverential awe for the mystery of the Eucharist. What reverence was not due to those, who could with a few words change a common aliment into the divine nature, and especially for the chief of a religion that could operate such a prodigy? When human reason, left to itself, began to examine this mystery, the object of former veneration became lessened in the general esteem; and the multiplicity of priests, by rendering this

miracle too common, made it at length less respected by the people.

And here we must not forget the custom which began to be introduced in the eleventh century, of buying off the punishments of the dead, by the alms and prayers of the living; and freeing their souls from purgatory, and the establishing a solemn festival for this act of piety.

The opinion of a purgatory, as well as that of an hell, is of the most ancient date; but it is no where so clearly expressed, as in the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid*, in which we meet with most of the mysteries of the religion of the Gentiles. The passage I mean is the following.

*Ergo exercentur pænis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt, &c.*

This notion was by degrees adopted and sanctified by the professors of christianity; and some carried it so far as to believe that we might by prayer change the decrees of providence, and obtain of God the immediate salvation of a soul condemned to undergo a temporary punishment in the next life.

Cardinal Peter Damien, the same who relates the story of king Robert's queen being delivered of a monster, tells us, that a pilgrim, in his return from a voyage to Jerusalem, was cast by a tempest on a desert island, where he found an old hermit, who told him that the island was inhabited only by devils, and that the neighbourhood of his cottage was entirely covered with flames, into which the devils used to cast the souls of the dead; and that these same devils were incessantly crying and howling against St. Odilon, abbot of Cluni, who was their mortal enemy,

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enemy, and whose prayers, they said, with those of his monks, robbed them of some soul almost every day.

This relation being made to Odilon, he instituted the festival of the dead (or *fête des morts* *) in this convent. The principles of humanity and piety, which constitute the basis of this institution, may in some measure serve as an excuse for the fable of the pilgrim. The church soon adopted this solemnity, and made it an obligatory one. Great indulgences were annexed to those who offered up prayers for the dead; and if it had stopt there, it would have been an act of devotion; but it soon degenerated into an abuse. These indulgences were sold at an extravagant price, and the mendicant friars in particular made people pay for taking the souls of their friends out of purgatory. Nothing was talked of but apparitions of deceased persons, who complained that their souls were suffering in purgatory, and requiring them to be released, with denunciations of sudden death, and eternal punishment, to those who refused to perform this duty. In a word, fraud and extortion succeeded to pious credulity; and this was one of the reasons which in process of time lost the church of Rome one half of Europe.

* * *

Id. page 299.] The reverence paid to the ass, was in commemoration of that on which our Saviour made his entry into Jerusalem.

* This festival is with us called All Soul's day, and is held on the second of November.

REFLECTIONS on the EMPEROR
HENRY IV.

Vol. II. chap.
36. page 19.

LET us stop for an instant to contemplate the exhumated corpse of that famous emperor Henry IV. a prince still more unfortunate than Henry IV. king of France Let us examine whence came such repeated humiliations and misfortunes on the one hand ; and on the other, such a bold exertion of power, so many shocking actions deemed holy, so many crowned heads made the victims of religion ; and we shall find that the true cause of all these calamities and disorders was in the common people, who are always the foremost to arm the hands of superstition. It was on account of the blacksmiths and butchers of Germany, that this emperor appeared barefooted before the bishop of Rome. It is the common people who, always slaves to superstition themselves, are for having their masters loaded with the same yoke. When once a prince suffers a subject to be blinded by fanaticism, they will soon oblige him to appear as fanatic as themselves ; and if he attempts to throw off the bondage which they are so fond of wearing, they will rebel against him. Though he may perhaps imagine that the more weighty he makes the chains of religion (which ever ought to be light and gentle) the more submissive his people will be ; the event will shew him he has been mistaken, and that his subjects will make use of those very chains to bind him

on

on his throne, and even to drag him from it.

OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

Vol. II. chap. 38. page 26. **T**HIS emperor promised, that he would attempt nothing against the life, the person, nor the honour of the popes, the cardinals, or the magistrates; and the pope, on his side, took the same oath to the emperor and his officers. Such was at that time the state of the western part of Christendom, that the two principal personages of this little portion of the world, one of whom boasted himself the successor of the Cæsars, and the other of Jesus Christ, were both obliged to take an oath to each other, that they would not be assassins during the time of the ceremony. A knight completely armed took this oath to pope Adrian IV. in the emperor's name; and the pontiff took his oath in the presence of the knight.

The crowning or consecrating of a pope, was at that time attended with as extraordinary ceremonies, and which partook more of simplicity than barbarism. The pontiff elect was seated on a close-stool called the *Stercorarium*, and afterwards on a marble chair, where they presented him with the two keys; from thence he was removed to a third chair, where he was presented with twelve coloured stones. All these customs have been abolished by time, by which they were first introduced. When the emperor Frederick had taken the above oath,

the pope then went to meet him some mile from Rome.

* * *

Id. page 31, 32, 33.] The Germans always wanted to be masters in Italy, and the Italians were always determined to support their liberties. And most certainly they had a more natural right to that liberty, than any German could have to be their master.

The Milanese set the example. The citizens, become soldiers, surprised a party of the emperor's troops near Lodi, and defeated them. Had they been seconded by the other cities, Italy would have put on a new face. But Frederick had time to recruit his army.

* * *

Id. page 34.] The election of a pope had been always attended with a civil war for upwards of two centuries.

The FEUDAL LAW, which obliged the Liege-Man to march against his Sovereign, in the Service of his Lord.

Vol. II. chap. **T**HE emperor Frederick Barossa abolished this law in the year 1158: A law which had been established by custom, and which that custom still maintained in the empire, notwithstanding all his care, whenever the great vassals were powerful enough to make war against their prince. It remained in full force in France, till the extinction of the house of Burgundy. In England the feudal government soon

soon gave place to the liberty of the subject; and in Spain it submitted to the absolute power of the sovereign.

In the beginning of the race of Hugues or Hugh, commonly called the Capetian race, from a nick-name given to that king, all the little vassals were in arms against the great; and the kings of France were frequently at war with the barons of the duchy of France. The race of the ancient Danish pirates who reigned in Normandy and England, always countenanced these dissensions; on which account Lewis the Fat found so much difficulty in reducing the sieur de Couci, the baron de Corbeil, the sieur de Montlery, and another sieur of the village of Puiset, the lord of Baudouin and of Chateaufort; and we find that he did not dare to condemn, or put to death these rebellious vassals. Things are greatly changed in France since that time.

England, from the time of Henry I. was governed in the same manner as France. In the reign of Stephen, son to Henry I. they reckoned no less than one thousand fortified castles or strong hold in England. The kings of France and England could do nothing then without the consent and assistance of number of barons; and these times were, as we have seen, the reign of anarchy and confusion.

DIVORCE between LEWIS the Young,
and his Queen ELEANOR.

Idem, **T**HIS divorce makes one of the page 40. greatest objects of the common law, which historians ought to have well understood. The marriage was dissolved at Beaujenci, by a council of bishops, on the idle pretext that Eleanor was second cousin to Lewis; and moreover, the Gascoon lords were obliged to make oath, that the married couple were within the decrees of consanguinity, as if the truth of such a relationship could not be known but by an oath. It is very certain that this marriage was null, according to the superstitious laws of those times of ignorance. But if the marriage was null, the two daughters who were born of that marriage must have been bastards; and yet they were both married afterwards as legitimate daughters of Lewis; and of consequence the marriage of their mother Eleanor was reputed valid, notwithstanding the decision of the council. The council then did not pronounce this marriage null, but only declared it to be dissolved, and a divorce; and in the whole proceedings the king never once accused his wife of adultery. Therefore it was in fact a divorce in full council, upon the most frivolous motive.

It remains to know how, agreeable to the rules of the Christian religion, Eleanor and Lewis could again be married to each other. St. Matthew and St. Luke declare plainly, that a man cannot marry after having put away his former

former wife; nor can any man marry a woman who has been so put away by her husband. This law was delivered from the mouth of Christ himself, and yet it has never been observed. What a source for excommunications, interdicts, commotions, and wars; had the popes then intermeddled in such an affair with which they have since so frequently concerned themselves!



Id. page 45.] While Thomas Becket was in France, he excommunicated several of the lords of Henry's privy council; and wrote in the following manner to that prince. "It is true that I owe you respect as my king, but at the same time I owe you chastisement as my spiritual son." And in the same letter he threatens him with being changed into a beast-like Nebuchadnezzar; though there does not seem to have been any great resemblance between Henry and the king of Babylon.

HENRY II. KING of ENGLAND.

Idem, **T**HIS king made the conquest of Ireland, in the year 1172. It was at that time a savage country, and had been subdued in part by the earl of Pembroke, with only 1200 men. This nobleman wanted to secure his conquest; but the king being stronger than him, and being moreover furnished with a bull from the pope, easily made himself master of the whole island, which ever afterwards remained under the English dominion; though in a barren, poor and useless condition, till

till towards the end of the eighteenth century; when agriculture, manufactures, arts and sciences, have been all carried to perfection there; so that Ireland, though a conquered country, is become one of the most flourishing provinces in Europe.

JOHN LACKLAND.

Idem, **W**HO were the peers of France, page 50. that passed sentence of death on the king of England? They could not be the clergy, for they cannot assist on a trial upon life and death. We are not told that there was at that time in Paris a count Toulouse, a count of Flanders, or a duke of Burgundy. The accused person was himself duke of Guyenne and Normandy. The assembly of the peers was composed of barons, holding immediately of the crown. This is a point of great importance, which our historians ought to have well examined, instead of amusing themselves with drawing up armies in battle array, or tiring our patience with relations of sieges of castles that no longer exist.

LEWIS VIII. KING of ENGLAND.

Vol. II. chap. **T**HIS king did not long
xl. page 60, 61. keep possession of the
English throne. The people
of England, who had a liking to Henry, afterwards Henry III. obliged Lewis to restore to
that

that prince the crown which he had taken from his father John. Thus Lewis was only made use of by them as a scourge to chastise a monarch who had displeased them. The pope's legate, who was then in London, dictated as master the conditions on which Lewis was to quit England; and, after having excommunicated that prince for presuming to keep possession of the throne against his holiness's decree, compelled him to do penance for the same, by keeping a tenth of two years of his revenue; his officers were taxed at a twentieth; and his chaplains, who had come with him out of France, were obliged to go to Rome to ask absolution, which they did; and were ordered as a punishment, to appear at the door of the cathedral church at Paris, at the four great feasts in the year, barefooted, and in their sheets, with each a discipline in his hand, with which he was to be flogged by the canons. It is said that they actually performed a part of this penance.

This incredible transaction passed in the reign of a courageous and able king, Philip-Augustus, who suffered, without murmuring, this indignity to be put upon his nation and his own son; so that the victor of Bouvines could not he said to have ended his career with glory.



Id. page 61.] This is the proper place to controvert a strange story, which has been told by all our historians, and which is as follows: Lewis VIII. being ill of a dangerous malady, his physicians thought that there were no means left to save his life, but the use of women. Accordingly a young girl was conveyed into
the

the bed to him ; but the king, who chose rather to die than stain his soul with a mortal sin, sent the damsel away. Father Daniel has caused a copper-plate of this memorable exploit to be prefixed to the life of Lewis VIII. in his history of France, as the most glorious action of this prince.

This fable has been since applied to several monarchs, and is like all the other tales of this kind, the pure effect of the ignorance of the times. But at present we should certainly know, that the use of women is by no means a cure for sickness; and moreover, if Lewis VIII. could not have recovered by any other means, there was Blanche his queen, the handsomest woman of her time, who was very able to have performed this cure. However, Father Daniel will have it, that Lewis made a truly noble end, by resisting his passions, and fighting against the hereticks. It is true, that, a little before his death, he went into Languedoc, to take possession of part of the country of Toulouse, which young Amauri, count of Montfort, son to the usurper of that name, had sold to him. But can it be said, that buying a country of a person, who had no right to that country, was fighting for the faith? A person of sound understanding, when he reads history, will find little else to do than to refute the errors with which it abounds.

OF FREDERICK II.

Vol. II. chap. xliii. page 70. **I**T was upon a letter of pope Gregory IX. that it was believed in those times *, that there really was a book entitled *De tribus Impostoribus* (of the three impostors). This book has been sought for in every age, and has never yet been found.

OF PALESTINE.

Vol. II. chap. xliii. page 80, 81. **A**LL the country to the southward of the Mediterranean and of Egypt, from Esongeber to the Red Sea, is nothing but a collection of sandy deserts, or hideous mountains. These rocks and sands, which are now inhabited by a set of Arabian freebooters, made the ancient country of the Jews. They afterwards extended themselves a little northward into Arabia Petraea. The small country of Jericho, which they invaded, was one of the best they possessed; the soil of Jerusalem being much more dry and parched, and not having the advantage of being situated on a river. There is very little pasture in this country, so that the inhabitants not being able to find food for horses, are obliged to make use of asses as their only beasts of carriage. Their oxen are very poor, but sheep thrive a little better; they have olive-trees in some places, which produce tolerable fruit. There are like-

* In the Thirteenth Century.

wife some palm-trees here and there; and this country, which the Jews made habitable after infinite pains and labour, was to them a paradise in comparison with the deserts of Porain and Cades-Borne.

St. Jerome, who lived so long in Bethlehem, acknowledges, that they were troubled with continual droughts in that barren, rocky, and sandy country, where it seldom or never rains, and where there are no springs or fountains; the want of which, the natives are obliged to supply by vast cisterns, at a prodigious expence.

Of the FIRST CRUSADE.

Vol. II. chap.
xliv. page 82,
&c.

ANTIQUITY had never beheld an instance of emigrations, from one part of the world to another, set on foot by religious enthusiasm. This epidemic madness now made its appearance for the first time, in order that there might be no scourge, with which mankind had not been afflicted.



Id. page 90.] A certain French count, having had the insolence to seat himself by the side of the emperor Alexis Commenes, and being asked by that prince's order, who he was, made this answer: "I am descended of a right noble family. When in my own country, I went every day to the church which is in my own lordship, where were assembled all the brave lords who had vowed to fight duels, and who prayed to Jesus Christ and
" the

“ the holy Virgin, to be favourable to them ;
 “ but not one of them would fight with me.”

The TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Idem, **E**LMACIM writes, that at the
 page 94. taking of Jerusalem in 1099,
 the conqueror shut up all the Jews
 found in the place, within the synagogues
 which had been granted to them by the Turks ;
 and setting fire to it, every soul perished in the
 flames. This action may be credited after the
 horrible cruelties they exercised upon this un-
 happy people in their march.

CRUSADES after the TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Vol, II. chap. **I**N the year 1148, Lewis the
 xlv. page 104. Young, whether he thought
 himself in danger from the
 Turks, or the prince of Antioch's troops, took
 his wife away privately from that city, and
 went with her to Jerusalem ; by which he had
 at least the satisfaction of fulfilling the vow he
 had made, and of telling St.
 Bernard, that he had seen Beth- Id. page 101.
 lehem and Nazareth. But dur-
 ing this journey, the few troops he had left
 were beaten and dispersed on all sides ; and at
 length, three thousand of the French deserted in
 a body, and turned Mahometants to keep them-
 selves from starving.

Of

OF SALADIN.

Idem, **T**HE Christians were yet* in possession of Jerusalem, and disputing with the Turks and Tartars some territories in Syria. While Europe was torn in pieces by this holy war, while Andronicus Manuel ascended the tottering throne of Constantinople, by the murder of his nephew, and while Frederick Barbarossa and the popes kept all Italy in arms, nature produced one of those tremendous accidents, which should make mankind enter into themselves, and reflect upon their own nothingness; an earthquake more violent and extensive than that in 1755, ruined most of the cities in Syria; and also this petty kingdom of Jerusalem. The earth opened in an hundred different places, and swallowed up men and beasts. The Turks were told by their priests, that it was a judgment of God upon the Christians; and the Christians were taught to believe, that God declared himself in this manner against the Turks; and both parties continued to butcher each other on the ruins of Syria.

* * *

Idem, page 112.] It is said that the emperor Henry VI. demanded an hundred thousand marks of silver, for the ransom of Richard, king of England; but an hundred thousand marks would, according to the present value of money, make five millions of livres, a sum which

* In the Twelfth Century.

England in those days was not able to furnish : it was more likely an hundred thousand *Marques* or *Marcas*, that is, about an hundred thousand of our present crowns.



Id. page 113] The Christians who followed Baldwin count of Flanders directed their Crusade against the chief of the Christian religion*.

Of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page 114, &c. **T**HE empire of Constantinople, which had still the title of the Roman empire, was still in possession of all Greece, the Archipelago and Epirus, and its dominion in Europe extended as far as Belgrade and Walachia. It disputed the remains of Asia Minor against the Arabians, the Turks, and the Crusades, and the arts and sciences were constantly cultivated in the capital of the empire. It had an uninterrupted succession of historians, till the time that Mahomet II. made himself master of it. These historians were either emperors, princes, or statesmen, but were not therefore better writers. They talk wholly of religion, disguise facts, and aim only at a flow of words, and preserve nothing of the ancient Greek stile but its loquacity. Controversy was the favourite study of the court. The emperor Manuel, in the 12th century, had a long dispute with his bishops on the

* Pope Innocent III.

words,

words, "My Father is greater than I," while he was threatned by the Crusaders and the Turks. There was a Greek catechism which anathematized, in the severest manner, that well known verse in the Alcoran, which says, "that God " is an infinite Being, who has neither begot " nor has been begotten of any one." Manuel was for having this anathema taken out of the catechism. These disputes signalized and enfeebled his reign; but observe how cautiously Manuel acted with regard to the Mussulmen in this dispute. He was not willing that the Greek catechism should offer so great an insult to a victorious people, who acknowledged only one incommunicable God, and were greatly offended at our doctrine of the Trinity.

Alexis Manuel, the son of this emperor, who had married a daughter of Lewis the Young, king of France, was dethroned by Andronicus, one of his own relations. This Andronicus was himself afterwards deposed by an officer of his palace, named Isaac Angelus, dragged through the streets of the capital, had one of his ears cut off, his eyes put out, and afterwards boiling water poured over his body, till he expired in the most dreadful agonies.

Isaac Angelus, who punished an usurper with so much barbarity, was himself stripped of the crown by his own brother, Alexis Angelus, who ordered his eyes to be put out. This Alexis Angelus took the name of Comnenes, though no ways related to the imperial family of that name. It was this emperor who was the cause of the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

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The son of Isaac Angelus solicited the assistance of the pope and the Venetians against his cruel uncle; and in order to secure them in his favour, he renounced the religion of the Greek church, and embraced that of the Latin. The Venetians, and some of the princes of the Crusades, such as Baldwin count of Flanders, and Boniface, marquis of Montserrat, granted him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries were equally hateful to all parties. They encamped with their forces without the gates of the city, which was still in the greatest confusion and tumult. Young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having introduced the Latins, in a short time fell a victim to a new faction. One of his relations, named Mirziflas, strangled him with his own hands, and seized on the red sandals, which were part of the insignia of the imperial dignity.



Id. page 115.] The French officers and soldiers danced with some ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, while one of the prostitutes who followed Baldwin's army, seated herself on the patriarch's throne, and from thence entertained the company with songs suitable to her profession.

OF ST. FRANCIS D' ASSISE.

Id. page 119. **S**UCH is the fate of enthusiasm, that St. Francis not being able to compass his design of burning himself alive, and converting the Sultan, was resolved to try the same frolic once more in Morocco ;

rocco; he accordingly took shipping for Spain, but having falling ill by the way, he prevailed on friar Giles, and other four of his companions, to promise to go and convert the people of Morocco. Friar Giles and the four monks set sail for Tetuan, got safe to Morocco, and preached in Italian out of a cart. The Miramolins taking compassion on their folly, sent them back again to Spain. They returned a second time, and he sent them back as before. They came again a third time; and then the emperor, incensed at their insolence, caused sentence of death to be passed on them by his divan, and with his own hand struck off their heads. By a custom equally superstitious and barbarous, the emperors of Morocca are the chief executioners in their own dominions. The Miramolins pretend to be descended from Mahomet. The first persons who were sentenced to die after the erection of their empire, requested, as a favour, to die by the hands of the emperor, thinking thereby to receive a full expiation of all their sins; since which time this horrible custom has been so well kept up, that Muley Ishmael, the last emperor, during his long reign, put to death no less than 10,000 persons.

The death of the five companions of Francis d'Assise is still celebrated annually at Coimbra, by a procession as singular as their adventure. It is pretended that the bodies of these Franciscans came back to Europe after their execution, and stopped at Coimbra, in the church of the Holy Cross. Every year, on the eve of the arrival of these martyrs, the young men and women of the place go in procession from the church of the Holy Cross, to that of the

GENERAL HISTORY. 99

the Franciscans. The young men and boys have nothing on them but a pair of drawers, which do not fall lower than the upper part of their thighs, and the women and girls wear an under-petticoat full as short. The procession has a considerable distance to march, and they stop several times by the way.

OF SAINT LEWIS.

Vol. I. chap. xlv. page 127.

THE greatest part of the large ships of burthen, in which the troops of St. Lewis were transported, were built in the ports of France. They were 1800 in number. A king of France could not fit out such an armament in these days, by reason that timber of all kinds is beyond comparison dearer, all the concomitant expences greater in proportion, and the artillery which is now used, and becomes a necessary part of the equipment, still enhances the expence and difficulty of fitting out so numerous a fleet.

OF GENGIS-CAN.

Vol. II. chap. xlviii. page 142.—146.

THE Chinese author who has written the conquests of Gengis-Can, and whose work has been translated by father Gaubel, assures us, that the Tartars had not the least knowledge of the art of writing; this art was wholly unknown to all the people between the province of Archangel and the Great

Wall; as likewise to the Celtes, the Bretons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the natives of Africa on the other side of mount Atlas. The use of transmitting to posterity the several articulations of speech, and the ideas of the mind, was one of the great refinements of society, improved and known only to some nations more highly civilized than others, and was never universally known even among those nations. The Tartars delivered their laws by oral tradition, and had no symbols to perpetuate the memory of them.

* * *

The Greeks, and before them the Asiatics, were frequently accustomed to give the name of Sons of God to their defenders or legislators, and even to successful or victorious robbers. In all the ages of ignorance divine honours were lavishly paid to whoever instructed, served, or oppressed the rest of mankind.

* * *

The monks who travelled thro' Tartary, in the thirteenth century, tell us, that Gengis-Can and his sons governed their Tartars with absolute sway; but can it be supposed that armed conquerors, who, in conjunction with their chief went in search of plunder, to be equally shared between them; men, by nature robust, free, and used to a wandering life, making the snow their bed in winter, and the dewy fields their couch in summer, would suffer themselves to be treated like beasts of burthen by their leaders? This was far from being the disposition of the people of the North. The Alands, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Turks, the Goths, and the Franks, were the companions,

ons, not the slaves of their barbarous chiefs. Despotic power is the work of time, and the result of a long combat between the spirit of ruling and the spirit of independence. A chief has always more ways of oppressing his companions than they of resisting, and at length money makes him their master.

The monk Planus Carpinus, who was sent in 1243 by Pope Innocent IV. to Caracerum, at that time the capital of Tartary, and who was present at the inauguration of the great Khan Oçtai, tells us, that the principal Tartars made their khan sit down upon a piece of coarse beaver's skin, and addressed him thus: "Honour the great, be just and merciful to every one, otherwise thou shalt be so wretched that thou shalt not be worth the skin upon which thou now fittest." This was not the speech of slavish courtiers.



If we compare the vast and sudden depredations of Gengis-Can and his followers, with the transactions of our days, we shall find a surprising difference between them. Our generals, who understand the art of war incomparably better than Gengis or his sons, or than many of the other conquerors of antient times, aided with armies, a simple detachment of which, with a few cannon, would have put to rout all these numerous herds of Huns, Alands, and Scythians, can with difficulty take a few towns in the most successful expeditions: the reason is, that in those days there was no art in war; strength alone decided the fate of the world.

Gengis and his sons, elevated with the rapid success of their arms, thought that they should

be able to conquer the whole habitable globe. With this view Coblai-Can, after having made himself master of China, sent an army of 100,000 men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of Japan, and another son of Gengis, named Batou Shah, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Italy. Pope Celestine IV. sent four monks to him in the quality of ambassadors, the only set of people who would have accepted such a commission. Father Affelin says, that he could only be admitted to speak to one of the Tartarian captains, who gave him the following letter for his holiness :

“ If thou wouldest continue on the face of the
 “ earth, come and do homage to us. If thou
 “ obeyest not, we know what will be the con-
 “ sequence. Send new deputies to us, to inform
 “ us whether thou wilt be our vassal or our ene-
 “ my.”

* * *

The race of Gengis Can continued a long time in China, under the name of Iven. It is to be believed that the science of astronomy, for which the Chinese were so famous, fell greatly to decay during these revolutions ; for after these times we find none but Mahometan astronomers in China, and they had almost always the care of regulating the calendar, till the arrival of the Jesuits in that empire. This is perhaps one reason of the mediocrity of the Chinese in this respect.

This is the whole of what is necessary for us to know concerning the Tartars in these distant ages. Here we meet with no civil nor canon law ; no division between the throne, the altar,
 the

the courts of justice ; no council, no universities, nor any of those institutions which have improved or over-loaded society among us. The Tartars left their desarts about the year 1212, and in the year 1236 had conquered one half of the hemisphere. This is all their history.

Of MAINFROY, or MANFRED-
DO, &c.

Vol. II. **T**HE emperor Conrad IV. was chap. xlix. accused of having poisoned page 157. his son Henry. You will find that in all ages the suspicion of poisoning was always more common than the fact itself.

The homage paid to the court of Rome for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was one source of the calamities which beset those provinces, and the imperial houses of Suabia, and of Anjou, which latter, after having stripped the lawful heirs of their right, perished itself in a miserable manner. This homage was at first nothing more than a pious and artful ceremony introduced by the Norman conquerors, who, after the example of many other princes, put their dominions under the protection of the church, in order to stop, if possible, by the dread of excommunication, the proceedings of those who wanted to take from them what they had usurped. The Popes soon converted this oblation into an homage, and though not masters in Rome, they were lords paramount of the Two Sicilies.

The emperor Frederick II. when he died, left Naples and Sicily in the most flourishing condition, and left behind him as monuments of his reign, wise laws properly enforced, new cities built, the capital beautified, and the arts and sciences in high esteem *. The kingdom was to have devolved to the emperor Conrad, his son. We do not know whether Manfredo or Manfred, as we call him, was the lawful son or bastard of Frederick; but the emperor seems to have considered him in the former light in his will, by which he gave him Tarentum and several other principalities in sovereignty, appoints him regent of the kingdom during the absence of Conrad, and declares him his successor in case of the death of Conrad, and his son Henry, without issue. So far every thing appeared well settled on a peaceable footing; but the Italians never yielded a voluntary obedience to any prince of German extraction. The Popes hated the house of Suabia, and wanted to drive them out of Italy, and the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines still continued as strong as ever all over Italy.

The famous Pope Innocent II. who had deposed the emperor Frederick II. at Lyons, that is to say, who had the insolence to declare him incapable of reigning †, did not fail on this occasion to assert that the children of an excommunicated pagan could not succeed to the possessions of their father.

Innocent then quitted Lyons, in order to hasten to the frontiers of Naples, in order to ex-

* See vol. xxi. (xvi of the prose works) page 23.

† See vol. xxi. (xvi of the prose works) page 20.

hort the barons not to yield obedience to Manfred. This pontiff fought only with the arms of opinion; and you have seen what dangerous weapons these were. Manfred did not dare to trust the barons, who were all devotees, factious, and declared enemies to the house of Suabia. There were still some Saracens remaining in Apulia. His father, the emperor Frederick II. had always kept a guard composed of these Mahometans; the city of Lucera, or Nocera, was full of them, insomuch that it got the surname of *Lucera di Pagani*, or the city of infidels, tho' the Mahometans were far from deserving this title which the Italians gave them. No people in the world ever had less of what is called paganism in their belief, or were more strongly attached to the worship of one pure God; but the term infidel, or pagan, had rendered Frederick II. odious, on account of the number of Arabians he employed in his armies, and made Manfred still more so. Nevertheless this latter, with the assistance of his Mahometans, quelled the revolt, and kept the whole kingdom in awe, the city of Naples excepted, who acknowledged Innocent as its only master. This pontiff pretended that the Two Sicilies had devolved to him, and were become his property in virtue of the words he pronounced when he deposed Frederick II. and his family at the council of Lyons. The emperor Conrad arrives in person to defend his inheritance. He takes the city of Naples; the pope flies to Genoa, his native country, where he contents himself with offering the kingdom to prince Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England, a prince who was not in a condition to fit out a single vessel, and

who thanked his holiness for his dangerous present, without accepting it.

The unavoidable dissensions between Conrad, a German king, and Manfred, an Italian, did the court of Rome more service than either the politics or the anathemas of the pope. Conrad died, and it was pretended, as I have observed, that he was poisoned. The papal see gave credit to the report. Conrad left the crown of Naples to an infant of only seven years of age. This was the unfortunate Conradine, whom we shall see come to a tragical end. Conradine was in Germany; Manfred was ambitious: he caused a report to be spread that the young king was dead, and made the people take an oath to him as regent, in case Conradine was alive, and as king if he was dead. Innocent had always on his side in the kingdom the faction of the Guelphs, the sworn enemies of the imperial race, and also the strength of his excommunications. He declares himself king of the Two Sicilies, and grants certain investitures in that quality. Here, then, we at length see the popes become kings of that country which was conquered by Norman gentlemen. However, their royalty was but of short duration; the pope had an army, but as he knew not how to command it, he put one of his legates at his head; but Manfred, and his Mahometans, with some barons, who were not quite so scrupulous as the rest, routed the legate and the pontifical army.

It was in this situation of affairs that pope Innocent, finding that he could not get possession of the kingdom of Naples for himself, betought him of offering to the count of Anjou,

jou, brother to St. Lewis, a crown of which he had no right to dispose, nor the count to accept. But the pope died in the very beginning of this negotiation; and such is generally the end of all those ambitious projects, which torment and perplex the life of man.

Innocent IV. was succeeded in the pontifical chair by Alexander IV. (Rinaldo de Signi) who adopted all the views of his predecessor. He could not however prevail on the brother of St. Lewis, the French king, to enter into his measures. That monarch had unfortunately exhausted his kingdom by his last crusade, and his ransom while in Egypt, and was spending what little he had left in rebuilding the walls of some towns on the coast of Palestine, which were in a short time afterwards demolished again by the christians.

Pope Alexander IV. began his pontificate by summoning Manfred to appear before him. This he had a right to do by the feudal law, that prince being his vassal; but as this right went always with the strongest, it was not to be supposed that a vassal, powerful in arms, would appear at the summons of his lord. Alexander was at Naples, into which he had gained admittance by his intrigues, and from thence he treated with his vassals who were in Apulia. Manfred desired his holiness to send a cardinal to treat with him. The pope's council determined, *id non convenire sanctæ sedis honori, ut cardinales isto modo mittentur*; "that it was not agreeable to the honour of the holy see to send cardinals in that manner."

The civil war then was continued. The pope published a crusade against Manfred, in the same

manner as they had been published against the Mussulmen, the emperors, and the Albigenſes. It is a conſiderable diſtance between Naples and England ; nevertheless this cruſade was publiſhed there ; a nuncio was ſent into that kingdom to collect the tenth penny. This nuncio abſolved king Henry III. of the vow he had made to carry the war into Paleſtine, on taking another, to furniſh the pope with men and money for his war againſt Manfred *.

Matthew Paris ſays that this nuncio raiſed 50,000l. ſterling in England : to ſee the Engliſh at preſent, we could hardly ſuppoſe their anceſtors could have been ſo weak. The court of Rome, in order to extort this money, had flattered the king with hopes of getting the crown of Naples for his ſon Edmund, and at the ſame time was treating with Charles of Anjou, being always ready to beſtow the kingdom of the Two Sicilies on whomſoever would bid moſt for it. However, all theſe negotiations fell to the ground at that time. The pope ſquandered away the money he had raiſed in England in preparing for his cruſade, which at laſt did not take place. Manfred kept his crown, and pope Alexander IV. died without having ſucceeded in any thing but extorting money from England.

A cobbler being made pope, under the name of Urban IV. continued what his predeceſſors had begun. This cobbler was born at Troye in Champagne. His predeceſſor had cauſed a cruſade to be preached in England againſt the Two Sicilies ; this ſent to preach one in France, where he ſcattered his plenary indulgences with

* See vol. xxi. (xv. of the proſe works) p. 30.

a liberal hand, but could raise only a small sum and some few troops, which the count of Flanders, son in law to Charles of Anjou, led into Italy. Charles himself at length accepted the crown of Naples and Sicily ||, with the consent of St. Lewis, king of France; but pope Urban died before he saw the beginning of this revolution.

Here we find three popes who waste their lives in fruitless attempts to dethrone Manfred. A Languedocian, (Clement IV.) a subject of Charles of Anjou, completed what the others had begun, and had the honour to have his master for his vassal †.

* * *

Id. page 158.] The popes had, about a century before, created the dignity of senator of Rome, which was in fact a revival of the power of the ancient tribunes. This senator was the chief and guardian of the municipal government; and the popes, who so freely disposed of crowns and kingdoms, could not impose a single tax on the people of Rome. They were then the same that an elector of Cologne is in that city.

* * *

The pope's legate deprived Manfred's body of christian burial. Kings take revenge only on the living; here the church extended her's to both living and dead ‡.

|| See vol. xxi. (xvi. of the prose works) p. 34.

† Id. p. 35.

‡ Ibid.

Of the Crusade against the ALBIGEN-
SE S.

Vol. II. chap. I. **T**HE jesuit Daniel, in
page 165. speaking of these un-
happy wretches §, in his his-

tory of France, calls them infamous and detest-
able heretics ; but, with the good father's leave,
men who could thus voluntarily embrace mar-
tyrdom, could not be persons of infamous mo-
rals ; and most certainly there was nothing de-
testable in this, but the cruelty with which they
were treated We may indeed lament the blind-
ness of these poor creatures, who imagined that
God would make them everlastingly happy, be-
cause the monks thought fit to condemn them to
the flames.

The spirit of justice and reason, which has of
late times been introduced into the law of na-
tions in Europe, has at length evinced that no-
thing could be more unjust than this war against
the Albigenes, in which those concerned did
not take arms to quell a people who had rebel-
led against their sovereign, but to oblige a sove-
reign to destroy his people. What should we say
in these days, if a number of bishops were to
besiege the elector of Saxony, or the elector Pa-
latine, in their capitals, on the pretence that the
subjects of these princes performed peaceably cer-
tain ceremonies which were not in use among
the subjects of those bishops?

§ The 140 poor creatures, who, chanting a psalm, ran
and threw themselves headlong into the fire that Simon of
Montford had ordered to be kindled for their execution.

Id,

* * *

Id. page 167.] A council of Rome grants the count of Toulouse a pension of 400 marks, or marques. If they were marks, it was really 20,000 of our present franks; and if marques, (marcas) about 1200. The latter is most probable, if we consider that the poorer they kept him, the more he must be dependent on the church.

Of the Crusade against LANGUEDOC
in 1228.

Idem. **T**HE reign of St. Lewis, the ninth of that name, began unhappily by a horrible crusade against Christians, his vassals. It was not the lot of this prince to acquire any great increase of glory by crusades. Blanch of Castile, his mother, a woman wholly devoted to the pope, by birth a Spaniard, and consequently abhorring the very name of heretic, and withal guardian to a young prince, who was to share the spoils of the oppressed, did all in her power to assist a brother of Simon of Montfort, to compleat the ravages of Languedoc. Young count Raymond defended himself gallantly against his enemies. A war was lighted up, resembling that in the Cevennes, which has been already treated of. The priests shewed no mercy to the Languedocians; and these never spared the priests. All the prisoners, on both sides, were put to death, and every town that was taken, reduced to ashes, for the space of two years.

At

At length, the queen regent Blanch, who had other enemies to guard against, and young Raymond, weary of such a scene of slaughter, and unable to support the expences of the war, concluded a peace at Paris in 1228. One cardinal de St. Angelo was chosen arbitrator on the occasion, who imposed the following conditions, which were agreed to, and executed on the side of Raymond.

The count of Toulouse was to pay 10,000 marks or marques, for the use of the churches of Languedoc, into the hands of a person appointed by the cardinal to receive the same; 2000 to the monks of Cîteaux, who were already immensely rich: 500 to the monks of Clervaux, who were still richer than them; and 1500 to the other abbies. He was to go and make war for five years upon the Turks and Saracens, who, most assuredly, had never made war upon him; he was to give up to the king of France, without any equivalent, all his dominions on this side the Rhine; for what he possessed on the other side of that river was a fief of the empire. Raymond signed this instrument, which stript him of all his possessions, and then cardinal St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, acknowledged him not only to be, but always to have been, a good catholic; only they led him, for form's sake, in his shirt, and barefooted, before the altar of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he asked forgiveness of the Virgin; probably, in his heart, for having signed so infamous a treaty.

Idem.



Idem.] The crusades against Languedoc lasted twenty years. The desire of possessing another's property gave rise to them, and at the same time to the inquisition. This new scourge, before unknown to all religions in the world, received its first form in the year 1204, in the pontificate of Innocent III. It was established in France as early as 1229, in the reign of Lewis. A council held at Toulouse, in the last mentioned year, began by forbidding Christian laymen to read the Old and New Testament. It was a downright insult to mankind to dare to say to them, "We will that ye have a certain belief, but we will not, that you read the book on which that belief is to be founded."

This council ordered all the works of Aristotle to be burnt, that is to say, two or three copies of them that had been brought from Constantinople, during the first crusades. These were books that no one understood, and on which the heresy of the Languedocians was founded. Succeeding councils have placed Aristotle almost in the same rank with the fathers of the church. Thus you will see, every where, in this great picture of the follies of mankind, the opinions of the clergy, the superstition of the people, and enthusiasm in general, continually putting on new shapes, but always tending to plunge the world in barbarism and misery, till certain academies, or assemblies of men of learning, and enlightened knowledge, arose and made the present age blush for the ignorance of its ancestors.

Id.

Id. page 69.] But it was still worse in 1237, when the king had the weakness to give leave for a grand inquisitor to reside in his kingdom, nominated by the pope. This was Robert, a Franciscan friar, who exercised this new office, first in Toulouse, and afterwards in the other province.

Had this Robert only been a fanatic, there would have been, at least, the appearance of zeal in his ministry, which might have excused the cruelties he was guilty of, in the eyes of the weak and bigotted; but he was an apostate, and carried about with him an abandoned prostitute, whom he entertained as a mistress, and who, to complete the horrible scene, was herself an heretic. Thus says Matthew Paris and Mousk; and we find it proved in the Specilegium of Luke d'Acheri.

St. Lewis, king of France, unhappily permitted him to exercise his inquisitorial functions in Paris, Champagne, Burgundy and Flanders. He made the king believe that there was a new sect arisen, which privately infested these provinces. On this pretence the inhuman monster condemned to the flames, without mercy, every one whom he thought proper to suspect, or who had not interest or money sufficient to ransom themselves out of his hands. The common people, who are frequently the best judges of those who impose upon their kings, never gave this Robert any other title than that of Robert the B———r. He was at length discovered, and his villainies and infamy brought to light; but what will strike you with a great indignation and astonishment, is, that he was only condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and

and to encrease your indignation, you will find no mention made of this man in father's Daniel's history of France.

In this manner, then, did the inquisition first begin in Europe; a beginning truly worthy of the institution itself. You are doubtless fully sensible, that it must be the height of brutal and absurd barbarism to maintain by the means of informers and executioners, the religion of a God, who died by the hands of executioners. It is almost as contradictory, as to amass for one's own private use all the riches of a prince and his people, in the name of a God who was born and lived in poverty.

Of the PONTIFICATE in the Thirteenth Century.

Vol. II. **I**N the year 1339, Christopher, chap. li. king of Denmark, having been deposed by his nobles and clergy, Magnus, king of Sweden, sends to the pope, to ask of him Scania, and some other territories. "You know, most holy father," says he, in his letter to the pontiff, "that the kingdom of Denmark depends altogether on the church of Rome, to whom it pays tribute, and not on the empire." This pontiff, to whom the king of Sweden was a suitor, and whose temporal jurisdiction over all the sovereigns of the earth, he so fully acknowledges, was James Fournier, Benedict XII. who then resided at Avignon. However, the name is not material: the question is, to shew that every prince who had a mind to usurp or recover any dominion, always

always addressed himself to the pope as his master. Benedict sided with the king of Denmark, and returned for answer to the above letter, "That he should not proceed against that prince, till he had summoned him to appear before him, agreeable to the antient customs."

STATE of the SCIENCES in EUROPE in the Thirteenth Century.

IN this century, men passed from a state of brutal, to a state of scholastic ignorance. Albert, surnamed the Great, taught the principles of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture; he also taught politicks according to the rules of astrology, and the influence of the planets, and morality by Aristotle's logic.

It often happened that the wisest institutions arose only from blindness and weakness. There is not a more noble and splendid ceremony belonging to the church, nor one better calculated to inspire the common people with a religious awe, than that of the holy sacrament, or *Corpus Christi*. Antiquity could not boast any thing equal to it; and yet from whence had it its rise? A nun of Liege, whose name was Moncomillon, dreant every night that she saw a hole in the moon; she had afterwards a vision, which told her that the moon was the church, and the hole signified a festival, which was wanting in the church. Upon this a monk, named John, assisted her in composing the office of the holy sacrament: this festival was established at Liege, and in a short time pope
Urban

Urban X. made it an immoveable feast throughout the whole Christian church.

In the twelfth century, the black and white friars formed two great factions, which divided the cities much in the same manner as the blue and green factions did the minds of the people in the Roman empire. However, about the thirteenth century, when the Mendicant friars began to grow into credit, the blacks and the whites united against these new-comers, till at length one half of Europe was raised against them all. The studies of the schools were then, and indeed are at present, such systems of absurdity, as were they to be imputed to the people of Taprobania, we should think those people belied. One question was, "Whether God can produce the universal nature of things, and preserve it without there being things?" Another, "Whether God can be in a predicate sense; whether he can communicate his creating power, or render what he has made not-made, and change a married woman into a virgin?" A third, "Whether each person in the Godhead can assume which of the three natures he pleases?" A fourth, "Whether God can be a beetle or a grasshopper?" A fifth, "Whether God produces the Son by intellect, or by will: by essence, or by attribute; naturally, or of his free will?" And the doctors, who resolved these curious questions, called themselves the great, the subtle, the angelic, the irrefragable, the solemn, the enlightened, the universal, and the profound. These doctors were to the ancient fathers, what a pretender to wit is to a man of solid learning.

Of

Of SPAIN.

Vol. II. chap.
lii. page 175,
176.

THE kings of Castille, in the twelfth century, still continued to take the title of emperor of Spain. Alphonso, count of a part of Portugal, was their vassal while he was weak; but as he soon found himself master, by a right of arms of a considerable province, he erected himself into an independent sovereign. The king of Castile made war against him as a rebellious vassal; but the new king of Portugal submitted himself and his crown to the holy see, in like manner as the Normans, who became vassals to Rome, for the kingdom of Naples. Eugenius III. confers, that is, gives the kingly dignity to Alphonso and his posterity, for an annual tribute of two pounds weight of gold. Pope Alexander III. his successor, confirms this donation, on condition of the same payment. These popes then actually gave kingdoms. The estates of Portugal being convoked at Lamego, by Alphonso, in order to frame laws for the government of his new kingdom, began by reading the bull of pope Eugenius III. which bestowed the crown on Alphonso; therefore they considered it as the principal right of their sovereignty. This is an additional proof of the customs and prejudices of these times. No new prince dated to assume the title of sovereign, nor could be acknowledged such by other sovereigns, without the permission of the pope; and the basis of all the history of the middle age, is always, that

that the popes looked upon themselves as lords paramount of every state, without exception, in virtue of being the pretended successors of Jesus Christ; and the German emperors, on their side, pretended to think, and even declared, in all their public writings, that the several kingdoms of Europe were only branches that had been torn from their empire, because they pretended to be successors to the Cæsars. In the mean time, the Spaniards were taken up with establishing more real rights.



Id. page 184] Alphonso the Wise, in his book of laws, entitled *Las Partidas*, says, "that the despotic monarch tears up the tree, and the wise monarch prunes it."

OF PHILIP the FAIR, and of POPE BONIFACE VIII.

Vol. II. **Y**OU may already have observed, that, after the death of Charlemagne, there was not one pontiff who had not some intricate and violent dispute with the emperors and kings. You will see likewise, that those disputes, which are the necessary consequences of the most absurd form of government, to which mankind ever submitted, continued till the age of Lewis XIV. This absurdity consisted in making a foreigner master at home, and in absolutely permitting this foreigner to dispose of fiefs in your own country; in not being able to receive any part of the revenue of those fiefs, without the permission of this foreigner, and admitting him to a share

a share in them ; in being continually exposed to see those very temples which you yourself built and endowed, shut up by his orders, and in consenting that one part of your subjects should be obliged to go and plead their cause at the distance of three hundred leagues from their own country. These, however, are but slight links of those fetters with which the crowned heads of Europe insensibly, and almost without knowing it, loaded themselves and their subjects. At present, it is well known, that if any one was to propose to a sovereign, or his council to submit to such customs, he would be looked upon as a madman : the yoke which first appeared light, encreased in weight every day. It was found necessary to alleviate it ; but mankind had neither wisdom, knowledge, nor resolution enough to throw it off altogether.

Pope Boniface VIII. by a bull which had been a long time famous, had decreed, “ that
“ no person in holy orders was to pay any
“ thing to the king his master, without the
“ express commission of the sovereign pontiff.” Philip, king of France, did not dare immediately to order this bull to be burnt ; and therefore contented himself with issuing an ordinance, prohibiting the carrying of money out of the kingdom, without making any mention of Rome therein. Negotiations were set on foot upon this occasion ; the pope to gain time canonized St. Lewis ; and from thence the monks concluded, that the man, who could thus dispose of a place in heaven, might equally well dispose of the riches of the earth.

The

GENERAL HISTORY. 121

The king pleaded before the archbishop of Narbonne at Senlis, against the bishop of Pamiers, by the mouth of his chancellor Peter Flotta; and the chancellor went in person to Rome, to lay before the pope an account of the proceedings. The kings of Cappadocia and Bythinia were used to act in the same manner towards the Roman republic; but Flotta did more than them, for he spoke to the pope as the minister of a real sovereign to an imaginary one; expressing himself in these very words, "That the kingdom of France was of this world, but that of the popes was not."

Nevertheless, the pope had the presumption to take offence at this, and writes a brief to the king, in which he thus expresses himself, "Know that you are in subjection to us, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal matters." A judicious and learned historian remarks very aptly, that this brief was preserved in an antient MS. in the library of St. Germain des Prés, in Paris, but that the leaf has been torn out; but there is still a table of contents, that points out the place where it was, and an extract, which preserves the remembrance of it.

To this extraordinary letter, Philip returned as extraordinary an answer, which was as follows. "To Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health; Be it known to your most supreme vanity, that we are in subjection to no one in temporal matters." The historian above-mentioned observes, that this answer of the king's is preserved in the Vatican. This shews, that the modern Romans have been more careful in preserving curious things, than

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the

the Benedictines of Paris. Some have vainly disputed the authenticity of these letters; I do not suppose that they were ever sent with the customary formalities, or presented in form, but there is not the least doubt of their having been written.

The pontiff threw out bulls upon bulls, all asserting the pope to be master of all kingdoms; and that the king of France, if he did not forthwith yield obedience to him, should be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, that is to say, a total stop put to all religious duties, even to baptism and the burial of the dead. It appears the height of contradiction the mind of man can be capable of, that a Christian bishop, who pretends that all of the same faith are his subjects, should want to hinder these pretended subjects from being Christians; and thus deprive himself, at once, of what he looks upon as his own property. But you will easily judge, that the pope depended on the weakness of mankind in general, and flattered himself that the French would be ready enough to sacrifice their king to the dread of being deprived of the sacraments; but here he was for once mistaken. They burnt his bull, and the kingdom of France took arms against the pope, but without rejecting the papal authority.



You have seen the popes give away the empire, Arragon, England, Sicily, and almost every other kingdom. That of France had not as yet been transferred by a bull. But now Boniface put it on a footing with other states, and made a donation of it to the emperor Albert of Austria, whom he had some time before excommunicated,

communicated, and who was now his dearly beloved son, and a prop of the church. Observe only these words of his bull. "We bestow on you, by the plenitude of our power, "----- the kingdom of France, which "belongs of right to the emperors of the west." Here Boniface and his Datary did not certainly give themselves time to think, for if France belonged of right to the emperor, there was no room for the exertion of this plenitude of power. There was, however, some shadow of reason in this absurdity; it flattered the pretensions of the empire in all the dominions of the east, for you will always find that the German civilians were of opinion, or at least pretended to be so, that the Roman state having delivered up itself, together with its bishop, to Charlemagne, all the west, of consequence, belonged to his successors; and that the other states were only branches torn from the empire.

Had Albert of Austria had an army of 200,000 men, it is certain that he would have taken advantage of Boniface's bounty; but being poor, and not well settled on his throne, he left his holiness to be laughed at for his ridiculous donation.

* * *

Id. page 193.] The king of France joined the house of Colonna, who cared as little for excommunication as himself; and who frequently checked in Rome that very power, which was so formidable in other places.

* * *

Ibidem.] The popes who wanted to be too powerful, were, as you see, constantly giving

away kingdoms, and persecuted themselves at home.

* * *

Id. page 194.] Philip the Fair was so far from persecuting the memory of Pope Boniface, that he contented himself with barely warding off the stroke of excommunication, levelled by this Boniface, against him and his subjects; and even suffered Negaret, who had so well served him, who had acted wholly in his name, and had avenged him upon Boniface, to be condemned by the successor of that pontiff, to perpetual exile, in Palestine; so that all the noble beginnings of Philip the Fair terminated only in disgrace. In this great portrait of the world you will never find a king of France, who in the long-run has got the better of a pope. They may compromise matters indeed, but Rome will always be a gainer by the bargain, and France out of pocket. You will find only the parliaments of the kingdom opposing with steadiness the artifices of the holy see; and that frequently, the policy or weakness of the cabinet, the exigence of circumstances, and the intrigues of the monks, will render this steadiness of no effect.

Philip the Fair, in order to give vent to his displeasure, drove all the Jews out of his kingdom, seized upon their wealth, and forbade them ever to return again under pain of death. This arret was not issued by the parliament; it was in virtue of a secret ordinance, passed by his privy council, that Philip punished the usury of the Jews by an act of injustice, by which the people thought themselves revenged, and the king found himself enriched.

Of

Of the KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

Vol. II. chap. I Do not know what share ac-
liv. page 202. crued to the pope, from the
confiscated estates of the Tem-
plars; but it is evident, that the expences of
the cardinals and inquisitors, delegated to carry
on this shocking process, amounted to immense
sums. I was perhaps mistaken, when I read,
together with you, the circular letter of Philip
the Fair, in which he commands his subjects to
restore the moveables, and other effects of the
templars, to the pope's commissioners. This
ordinance of Philip is related by Peter Dupui.
We thought that the pope had profited by this
pretended restitution; for to whom can a resti-
tution be made, but to those who had been pro-
prietors? Now, in those days the popes were
thought to be the masters of all church-posses-
sions; however, I have not been able to disco-
ver that the pope actually received the profits
arising from the spoils of these unhappy victims.

OF SWISSERLAND.

Vol. II. chap. EQUALITY, the natural
lv. page 206. inheritance of mankind,
still subsists as much as possible
in Swisserland; you are not, by this term, to un-
derstand, that absurd and impossible equality, by
which the master and the servant, the magistrate
and the artificer, the plaintiff and the judge, are
confounded together; but that equality, by
G 3 which

which the subject depends only on the laws; and which is the defence of the weak, against the ambition of the powerful.



Id. page 207.] There are very few republican states in the world, and these are indebted for their liberty to the rocks and seas, that serve them as bulwarks. Men in general are very seldom worthy to have the government of themselves.

Of the GOLDEN BULL.

Vol. II. chap. lviii. page 226, 227, 228. **I**T is said in this bull, which was drawn up by Bartolus, that the seven electors were already established; therefore they must have been so: but it must have been a very short time before, for all the prior testimonies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shew us, that till the reign of Frederick II. the emperor was elected by the lords and prelates, possessed of fiefs, and this verse of Hoved is a convincing proof of it:

Eligit unanimis cleri procerumque voluntas.

“Emperors are elected by the unanimous consent of the lords and clergy.” But as the principal officers of the household were powerful princes; and as these officers had the declaring of the person who was elected by the plurality of suffrages; and lastly, as they were seven in number, they on the death of Frederick II. assumed a right of nominating him who was
to

to be their master ; and this was the real origin of the seven electors.

Originally the title of steward, master of the horse, and cup-bearer, belonged to the head servants in the royal and other great families. In process of time, these officers assumed the titles of stewards and cup-bearers of that empire. Thus, in France, the person who had the furnishing the king's household with wine, was called the chief butler of France ; his master of the pantry, and his cup-bearer, became grand pantlers, and great cup bearers of France, though undoubtedly these officers neither served the empire, nor the kingdom of France, with bread, wine or meat. Europe was overrun with these hereditary dignities, and those of marshals, and *grands veneurs*, or great huntsmen and chamberlains of a province ; even the title of grand-master of the beggars in Champagne, was hereditary in certain families.



The emperor was stiled in the golden bull, the head of the world, *caput orbis*. The dauphin of France, son to the unfortunate king John, assisted at this ceremony, and cardinal Alba took the upper hand of him ; so true is it, that at that time Europe was considered as a body which had two heads, and these two heads were the emperor and the pope ; the other princes were regarded both in the diets and the conclaves, as no other than members that ought to be vassals. But remark how customs have changed ; the electors, who then yielded the precedence to the cardinals, have for a long time taken the upper hand of those, who dared to sit above the

dauphin of France ; and then judge, after this, if any thing can be called fixed in the empire.



These various changes in customs and privileges, and this obstinacy in maintaining a title, with so little power to support it, forms the history of the lower empire, which the popes erected, by calling in Charlemagne, and afterwards the Otho's, in Italy, when in a weak state. All the popes destroyed it as much as they were able ; and this body, which was, and still is, called the Holy Roman empire, was in no manner a holy Roman empire.

OF JOHN HUS, &c.

Vol. II. chap.
lxi. page 253.

A Father of the council of Constance, said to John Hus, " If the sacred council should pronounce you blind, it would not signify that you had two eyes in your head ; you must acknowledge yourself blind."

STATE OF EUROPE.

Vol. II. chap.
lxii.

READ the life of Ezzelino d'Aromano, tyrant of Padua, so naturally, and so well wrote by Pietro Gerardo, his cotemporary. You will find that this tyrant put to death upwards of 12,000 citizens of Padua, in the thirteenth century. The pope's legate, who fought against him, put to death, at least, as many of the inhabitants of Vicenza, Verona and Ferrara.

Ezzelino

Ezzelino was at length taken prisoner; and himself, with all his family, perished by the most cruel torments.

Of FRANCE and ENGLAND,
in the Year 1326.

Vol. II. chap.
lxiii. page 268.

ISABELLA, queen of Edward II. caused it to be inserted in the sentence pronounced against the younger Spenser, that he should have those parts cut off, of which he had made a criminal use with the king. This part of the sentence was excuted upon him at the gallows, and she had the courage to be present while it was performing. Froissard makes no difficulty of calling these parts by their proper names. What a difference between those days and the present civilized times.

* * *

Id. page 269.] One Treffel made known to Edward III. his deposition in these words, which are still preserved in the public acts: “ I
“ William Treffel, in behalf of the parlia-
“ ment and people of England, declare to you,
“ in their name, and by their authority, that I
“ renounce, revoke, and withdraw, the ho-
“ mage I have done to you, and deprive you of
“ the kingly power.”

Of the SALIQUE LAW.

Idem, page
271, &c.

IT has always been a custom to strengthen opinions of whatsoever kind, by the authority of the sacred writings. The followers of the Salique law, quoted this passage in St. Matthew, *The lillies toil not, neither do they spin*; and from hence concluded, that as it was the business of the females to spin, they ought not to reign in the kingdom of lillies; and yet the lillies do not toil, and a sovereign must. The lions of England, and the towers of Castille †, do not spin any more than the lillies of France; and yet women may succeed to the crowns of those two kingdoms. Moreover, the armorial bearings of the kings of France bear no resemblance to lillies; they appear plainly to be the heads of the old fashioned pikes or halberds, as we find them described in the following bad verse of William the Breton. *Cuspidis in medio uncum emittit acutum*, The shield of France has an iron spike in the midst of the halberd.



Not only the daughters were excluded from the succession, but the representative of a daughter's family. It was pretended that king Edward could not possess a right by his mother, which she herself had not. But there was a more cogent reason for preferring a prince of

† This alludes to the armorial bearing of England and Spain, the former of which is Gules, three lions passant guardant, or; and the latter, quarterly, a lion and a castle, for the two provinces of Leon and Castille.

the blood to a foreigner, the native of a country naturally an enemy to France.

Of EDWARD III. in the Year 1338.

Id. page 274.] **T**HE emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, joined the king of England with more pomp than the brewer, but with less advantage to Edward.

And here I would have you attentively remark the prejudice which reigned at that time in the German republic, which was dignified with the title of Roman empire. This Lewis the emperor, who was only in possession of Bavaria, invested king Edward III. in the city of Cologne, with the dignity of vicar of the empire, in the presence of almost all the English and German princes and knights. He there declares the king of France to be disloyal and perfidious, that he has forfeited the protection of the empire, and by this act secretly declares Philip of Valois and Edward to be his vassals.

The English monarch soon perceived that the title of vicar was as empty in itself as that of emperor, when not supported by the Germanic body; and he conceived such a dislike to the German anarchy, that when he was afterwards offered the empire, he rejected it with disdain.

The beginning of this war gave a proof of that superiority which the English nation might one day have on the sea. Edward was at first to endeavour to land in France with a powerful army, and Philip to hinder him. Both monarchs fitted out in a very short time a fleet of one hundred ships each. These ships, howe-

ver, were nothing more than large barks. Edward was not, at that time, like the French king, sufficiently rich to build them at his own expence. Of the hundred English ships, twenty only belonged to him, the rest were furnished by the sea-port towns in England. That nation then was so poor in specie, that the pay of the prince of Wales was no more than twenty shillings per day; that of the bishop of Durham, one of the admirals, only six, and the barons had but four each; however, the poorest side conquered the richest, as is almost always the case.

Sea-fights, in those days, were more bloody than they are at present. They did not indeed use cannon, which makes so much noise, but there were many more killed on all sides. The ships boarded each other at the head or prow, and then letting down a kind of draw-bridge which was fastened to the shrouds, ready for the occasion, the crews of each fought as upon firm ground. Philip's admirals lost seventy ships, and near 20,000 men. This was the prelude to the glory of Edward, and his son, the black prince, who gained this battle in their own persons.

Of the taking of CALAIS.

Idem, page 276. **I**T is said that, during the siege of this town, Philip of Valois, finding he could not force the besiegers lines, in a fit of rage proposed to king Edward to decide this great quarrel by a combat of six men on a side. Edward, who was
not

not willing to hazard the certain taking of the place on an uncertain combat, refused Philip's challenge, as the latter had before done his*. We never see princes terminating their differences between themselves, the blood of the people has always flowed on these occasions.

The most memorable thing that happened in this siege, is the right which king Edward reserved to himself by the capitulation, to hang up any six of the chief citizens of the place he should pitch upon, and for which there appears to be no reason, as the citizens of Calais were no rebels; but, in fact, they might suppose, that if Edward really wanted to put an halter about their necks, it was not to put them to death by it, for he treated them with great humanity, and made a present to each of six gold crowns, known by the name of rose nobles.

If it had been his intention to hang any one, he had perhaps a right to revenge himself in this manner on Geofry de Charni, who, after the surrender of the town, endeavoured to corrupt the English governor by an offer of 20,000 crowns, and who was taken as he was coming out of the gates, together with the chevalier Eustace de Ribau mont. This Ribau mont, in the fight, struck king Edward to the ground. The same day that monarch entertained both of them at his own table, and presented Ribau mont with a coronet of pearls, which he himself placed on his head. It is therefore unjust to suppose that he had ever an intention to hang six citizens, who had fought courageously in the defence of their country.

* See vol. ii. p. 274.

Death of EDWARD III. in 1377.

Vol. II. ch. lxvi.
page 30.

EDWARD, after his victories and conquests, spent his time in nothing but tournaments : enamoured of a woman unworthy of his affection, he sacrificed to her his interest and his glory, and at length lost all the fruits of his toils and achievements in France. He was wholly taken up with diversions, tournaments, and instituting his order of the garter. The famous round table set up by him at Windsor, and to which all the knights in Europe were invited, gave the first rise to all the fabulous stories of the knights of the round table, which romance writers fictitiously attribute to king Arthur. At length Edward, after having outlived his fame and good fortune, died in the arms of his mistress, Alice Pierce, who, while she was closing his eyes, stole the jewels he wore about him, and even the ring from off his finger. It is difficult to say which died most miserable, the conqueror, or the conquered.

Of RICHARD II. King of England, in the year 1399.

Idem, page 307.

RICHARD II. was deposed according to law. He was tried by the parliament as Edward II. had been. The charge brought in form against him has been preserved: among other

other things, he was accused of having borrowed money without repaying it; having kept spies, and of having said that he was master of the estates of his subjects. He was condemned as an enemy to the liberties of mankind and a traitor.

The SALIQUE LAW abolished.

Vol. III. ch. lxvii. † **H**ERE, then, we see the Salique law abolished, the lawful heir to the crown disinherited and proscribed, and the son-in-law reigning peaceably, and taking away the inheritance from his brother-in-law, in like manner as we have since seen William prince of Orange, a foreigner, dispossessing his wife's father of the crown of England. If this revolution had been as durable as some others, and had the successors of Henry V. supported the edifice which had been raised by their father, and continued in possession of the throne of France, where is the historian who would have thought of disputing the justice of their cause? Mezeray, in this case, would not have asserted that Henry V. died of the piles, with which he had been afflicted as a punishment for having seated himself on the throne of the French kings. The popes would have sent bulls upon bulls to the successful usurpers of that throne. They would have been all the anointed of the Lord, and the Salique law would have been treated as an

† After the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and the accession of Henry V. to the crown of France.

idle chimera. What crouds of Benedictines would have been ready to have presented the descendants of Henry V. with old vouchers against this law? and how many brilliant wits would have employed their talents in turning it into ridicule? while the most celebrated preachers would have exalted to the skies Henry as the avenger of innocent blood, and the deliverer of France.

Of CHARLES VII. king of FRANCE.

Vol. III. ch. lxxiii. †

LET the inhabitants of an extensive city, where peace, pleasure, and the polite arts reign in all their lustre, and where reason begins every day to gain ground; let them, I say, compare these with former times, and complain if they dare. It is necessary to make some such reflection at almost every page of this history.

* * *

Id. page 21.] It was not till the year 1437 that Charles VII. made his entry into Paris. The citizens, who had signalized themselves by so many massacres went forth to meet him with all the demonstrations of affection and joy that were in use among a people then uncivilized. Seven young women, personating the seven sins which are called mortal, and a like number of others to personate the divine and cardinal

† This relates to the punishment of Joan of Arc, marshal of France. &c. &c.

virtues,

virtues, each carrying a scroll in her hand, received him at St. Denis's gate. He stopt some time there to see the representation of some religious mysteries, which were played by strollers mounted upon stools. The inhabitants of this capital were at that time poorer than the meanest labourers are now, and the people of the provinces were still more so. It required more than twenty years to reform the state.

Of MANNERS and CUSTOMS in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Vol. III. ch. lxix. page 25, &c.

THE following circumstance is alone sufficient to show the great scarcity of money at that time *, both in Scotland and England, as well as the rusticity, commonly called simplicity, of those days. We read in the public acts, that when the kings of Scotland came to the English court, they had thirty shillings per day assigned them for their maintenance, 12 loaves, 12 cakes, and 30 bottles of wine.

* * *

Id. page 29.] The bishops had, for a long time, been accustomed never to go abroad without a great number of servants and horses to attend them. A council held at Lateran, in the year 1179, in the pontificate of pope Alexander III. reproaches them, that when they went to visit the monasteries, these latter were fre-

* At the beginning of the 14th century.

quently

quently obliged to sell all their church-plate to defray the expences of their reception. The retinue of the archbishops was contracted by the canons of the councils to 50 horses, that of the bishops to 30, that of the cardinals to 25; for a cardinal, who was not at the same time bishop, and consequently had no church-lands, could not support the pomp of a bishop. This magnificence in the prelates appeared more hateful than it does as present, because there was not then any middle rank between the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. It was only the help of time that formed that middling rank which at present make the riches of a nation.

Of the ARTS and SCIENCES in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Idem, page 42. **T**HE dramatic art did not exist in these days.

In Italy they were acquainted with nothing of the kind, but certain simple representations of some particular stories in the Old and New Testament, and from thence the custom of playing mysteries passed into France. These exhibitions came originally from Constantinople, where they had been introduced by the poet St. Gregory Nazianzen, in opposition to the dramatic pieces of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and as the chorusses in the Greek tragedies were religious hymns, and their theatre held a sacred part, Gregory, and his successors, composed sacred tragedies; but unhappily this new theatre had by no means that pre-eminence over the stage of Athens, which the Christian

Christian religion had over that of the Gentiles. There are still some remains of these pious farces in the strolling theatres, which to this day exhibit the story of the shepherds. On holidays, or other times of religious festivals, they represented the birth and sufferings of our Saviour. These customs were soon adopted by the common people in the northern nations. These subjects have since been treated in a more suitable manner, of which we have instances in those little operas, which are known by the name of oratorio's, and the French have exhibited the most masterly productions on their stage, taken from stories in the Old Testament.

The brotherhood of the passion in France, towards the end of the 15th century, brought Jesus Christ in person upon the stage. Had the French language been then as majestic and pure, as it was low and grovelling, if among so many dull and illiterate persons, there had been one man of genius, it is not improbable that the death and sufferings of a just and a righteous person, persecuted by Jewish priests, and condemned by a Roman prætor, might have furnished matter for a sublime work; but this required an enlightened age, and such an age would not have permitted these kind of representations.

* * *

Du Cange, and his continuers, (very exact compilers) quote a manuscript, upwards of 500 years old, in which is found the following hymn of the as:

*Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus.*

A

A young damsel, representing the mother of God, journeying into Egypt, mounted on this ass, and holding a young child in her arms, led the procession; and at the end of the mass, instead of repeating the words, *Ita missa est*, the priest set a braying as loud as he could stretch his lungs, and the people answered him with the same cry.

This more than savage superstition had nevertheless its origin in Italy. And although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some few Italians began to emerge from darkness, yet the populace in general continued plunged in ignorance. They had entertained a notion at Verona, that the ass which carried our Saviour had walked upon the sea, and had come through the gulph of Venice, as far as the banks of the Adige, where Jesus assigned him a certain field for pasturage, in which he lived a long time, and in which he afterwards died. The bones of this animal were inclosed within a case, made in the shape of an ass, which was deposited in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, or our Lady of the Organs, under the care of four canons; and these reverend relicts were carried about three times a-year.

This ass of Verona was the making of the house of our lady of Loietto. Pope Boniface VIII. seeing that the procession of the ass brought such a concourse of strangers, bethought himself that the Virgin Mary's house must certainly bring still a greater number; and in this he was not deceived. He accordingly gave this apostolic sanction to this fable. And the people who were capable of believing that the ass walked upon the sea, from Jerusalem to Verona, were

were easily persuaded that the Virgin Mary's house might have been transported from Nazareth to Loretto. This little house was incased in a magnificent church, and in a short time, by the pilgrimages of devotees, and the presents of several crowned heads, this temple became as rich as that of Ephesus. The Italians, at least, found their market in the blind superstition of other nations; but at the same time they gave into this superstition themselves, by following the popular prejudice, and the spirit of the times. You may have had many occasions to observe that enthusiasm, to which mankind have a natural propensity, has served to render them not only more stupid, but also more wicked. Pure religion softens the manners by enlightening the understanding; and, on the contrary, superstition, by blinding the judgment, inspires rage and cruelty.

There was at that time in Normandy, which is called the country of wisdom, an abbot of the cuckolds, who used to traverse through many towns in a kind of chair, drawn by four horses, with a mitre on his head, and a crosier in his hand, dispensing benedictions, and issuing mandates.

There was also a king of the stewards established at court by patent. He was originally the chief or judge of a petty guard belonging to the palace, and afterwards a court-fool, who used to exact a certain fee from all the pick-pockets and night-walkers. There was not a town but what had a society of artificers, burghers, and even of women, among whom the most extravagant ceremonies were stamped with the title of religious mysteries; and from hence came
the

the fraternity of free-masons, an institution which has bid defiance to time, the great leveler of all others.

The most contemptible, though at the same time the most numerous of all these fraternities, was that of the flagellants or floggers; it had its first origin in the insolence of some priests, who took advantage of the weakness of publick penitents, so far as to scourge them. We see the remains of this brutal custom, in the little wands or switches, which the penitentiaries at Rome carry in their hands, on the days of any solemn procession. The monks, at length, came to scourge themselves, on a supposition that nothing could be more pleasing to God, than the welshed back of a brawny friar. In the eleventh century, one Peter Damien persuaded several of the laity to exercise this discipline on themselves stark naked. In 1260, there were several fraternities of pilgrims, who came through all Italy armed with rods and disciplines. They at length made the tour of one half of Europe. This association, in time, grew up into a sect, which it was found necessary to suppress.

INFRANCHISEMENTS, PRIVILEGES, &c.

Vol. III. chap.
lxx. page 49,
50.

ST. Lewis ennobled his
surgeon La Brosse, by
making him his chamberlain.

* * *

In Venice, Genoa, and other republics,
though the people had no share in the govern-
ment,

ment, yet they were never held in slavery. The citizens of Italy were very different from the burghers of the countries of the north; the burghers in Germany and in France were dependents on a lord, a bishop, or the king, and belonged to one man; but the citizens of Italy belonged only to the republic.

Of the PARLIAMENT of PARIS,
till the Reign of CHARLES VII.

Vol. III. chap. lxxii. page 60,
61. **T**HE parliament did not represent the nation, for to do this, it must be either nominated by the nation, or have an inherent right in its own person. The officers of the parliament (the peers excepted) were named by the king, paid by the king, and removeable by the king.



The descendants of lawyers are not to this day admitted into the chapters in Germany. It is a relict of antient barbarism to annex a mark of degradation to one of the most noble functions of humanity, that of the distribution of justice.

It may be said, in answer to this, that it is not the function of distributing justice that is deemed derogatory, since the peers of the realm, and even sovereigns themselves, have executed this function; but that certain men of a low extraction, having been at first introduced into the parliament of Paris, solely to carry on the causes, and not to give their voices, and having afterwards

afterwards assumed the rights and privileges of nobles, to whom alone it belonged to be the judges of the people, they ought not to be admitted to share those honours which appertain incommunicably to the body of nobles. The famous Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, in a letter to the French academy, says, that a person to be qualified to write the history of France, should be well versed in the ancient customs of the nation, and that he should know that the counsellors of parliament were originally serfs or vassals who had studied the laws of their country, and who assisted the nobles with their advice in the court of parliament. This may be true, in respect to some who raised themselves by their merit; but it is still a greater truth, that the major part of the counsellors were not serfs, but the sons of creditable burghers, who had been a long time enfranchised, and lived as freemen under the king, whose burghers they were. This order of citizens has undoubtedly at all times and in every country, better opportunities of acquiring a knowledge in their profession, than persons born in slavery.

This court was, as you know, the same as that which in England is called the court of King's-Bench. The English kings, who were vassals to those of France, imitated all the customs of their lords paramount. There was a king's attorney in the parliament of Paris, and there is one in the court of King's Bench in England. The chancellor of France may preside in the French parliament; the chancellor of England may do the same in the King's-Bench.

Bench †. The king, and the house of lords in England, may set aside the decrees of the court of King's-Bench; in like manner as the king of France, with his council of state, sets aside the arrets of the parliament; and as he likewise might with the high barons, and the nobles in the general assembly of the states, which are the parliament of the nation. The court of King's-Bench cannot enact laws; neither can the parliament of Paris. The very word *Bench* shews the great affinity between these courts; the bench of presidents still retains its name with us, and is now called the *High or Upper Bench*.

We have already remarked, that the form of the English government has not changed like ours. The general assembly of the English states has always subsisted; they have shared in the legislation: whereas ours, by being so rarely convoked, are grown out of use. The courts of justice, which we call parliaments, having become perpetual, and being considerably encreased, have insensibly acquired, partly by the concession of the kings, and partly by custom, and even the unhappiness of the times, certain privileges which they never enjoyed, either under Philip the Fair, his sons, or Lewis XI.

The chief distinction of the parliament of Paris, above the other courts of parliament, arises from the custom, which the kings of France introduced, of having all their treaties and edicts registered in the chamber of parlia-

† For a refutation of this mistaken notion of M deVoltaire, see note to chap. lxiv, page 28, of Vol. II. of the General History.

ment, during its session, as the most authentic depository; in other respects, this chamber never interfered in any affairs of state, or of the revenues. Whatever regarded the regal revenue, or the imposition of taxes, was incontestably the department of the chamber of accounts. The first remonstrances of the parliament, touching the revenue, was in the reign of Francis I.

All things are more subject to change in France, than in any other nation: there was an ancient custom, by which no arret, inflicting bodily punishment, could be executed, till such arret was first signed by the king. This custom is still in force in England, and many other states; and nothing can be more just and humane. Fanaticism, party fury, and ignorance, have condemned many innocent citizens to lose their lives. These citizens belong to the king, that is to say, to the state; but by these practices the country is robbed of a subject, and his family is rendered infamous, without the person, who is the representative of that country, knowing any thing of the matter. How many innocent persons have we seen accused of heresy, witchcraft, and a thousand imaginary crimes, whose lives might have been saved by a king of knowledge and understanding.

But Charles VI. was so far from being such a person, that he was in that deplorable situation, which makes a man the sport of his fellow-creatures.

Of the seeming UNION of the GREEK
and LATIN CHURCHES.Vol. III. chap.
lxxiii. page 70.

THE Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome. The Bezantine history affirms, that the pope bribed them to sign this acknowledgement. This is not improbable. It was the pope's interest to gain this advantage at any price; and the bishops of a country, that had been a prey to the ravages of the Turks, must have been poor.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. It was a game played by the emperor John II. surnamed Paleologus. The whole Greek church disowned what had been done; and the bishops who had subscribed at Florence, asked pardon for their proceedings, at Constantinople, and acknowledged that they had betrayed the true faith. They were on this occasion compared to Judas, who betrayed his master, and were not re-admitted into the bosom of their church, till they had formally abjured the innovations with which the Latins were accused.

The Latin and Greek churches were, after this, more divided than ever. The Greeks, always vain of their boasted antiquity, their first general councils, and their sciences, increased in their hatred and contempt for the Romish communion. They made all the Latins, who came over to them, to be baptized anew, and

from hence came the custom observed by the Russian priests at Petersbourg and Riga, to oblige a Roman catholic, who embraces the Greek religion, to undergo a second baptism. Several struck extreme unction out of the number of the sacraments, and they were one and all against the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the communicating in one kind only; and in fact, it is certain that they differ as much from the church of Rome, as the protestants do.

Nevertheless, pope Eugenius IV. was thought by the whole West to have extinguished this great schism. He had indeed brought the Greek emperor, and his church, under a seeming subjection.

Of the COUNCIL of BASIL.

Idem, page 71. **T**HE council of Basil was the first that forbade the popes to make more than twenty-four cardinals. They did not consider, that, by lessening the number, they increased the power; and that the more rare any dignity is, the more it is respected.



Id, page 72.] Amadæus VIII. duke of Savoy, contented himself with being a cardinal. This was the twenty-seventh, and last considerable schism, that had been raised for the possession of St. Peter's chair. Never was the throne of any kingdom so often disputed.

Æneas Piccolomini, the Florentine poet and orator, who was secretary to this council, had
written

written very violently in support of the superiority of councils over the popes; but after he was made pope himself, under the name of Pius II. he condemned, still more violently, his own writings, sacrificing every consideration to that of present interest, which so frequently makes the principles of truth or falsehood among them. There were some other writings of his spread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, published under the title of *Amœnitates*, he recommends one of his bastards, whom he had by an English woman. Hence we find, that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his sentiments on the fallibility of the popes.

The FALL of the GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. III.
chap. lxxiv.
page 75.

A Considerable sect of monks, and contemplative devotees, saw the light of mount Tabor at their navels, as the Indian Fakirs saw the heavenly light at the end of their noses.

* * *

Id. page 75.] This duke of Burgundy, who was prisoner to Bajazet, was the same John *Sans peur*, or the *Fearless*, who murdered the duke of Orleans, and was himself afterwards murdered by Charles VII. and yet we boast ourselves more humane and civilized than the Turks!

Of the TAKING of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxviii. page 97.

THIS conquest forms a grand epoch. Here begins in reality the Turkish empire, in the midst of Christendom; and at this time some of the arts of Greece were first transported amongst them.

* * *

Id. page 103.] The Turkish annals appear to be very true in what they relate of the sieges of Constantinople. Ducas himself, who is thought to have been of the Imperial race, and who during his infancy was in the besieged city, acknowledges in his history, that the sultan offered the emperor Constantine, to give him Peleponesus for himself, and to grant him some small provinces for his brothers. Mahomet wanted to have possession of the city, without sacking it, as he looked upon it as a part of his property, which he was willing to preserve safe.

Some Particulars concerning CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page
104, 105.

NO Christian nation will suffer the Turks to have a mosque in it, and yet the Turks give leave to the Greeks to have churches amongst them; several of these churches are collegiate, and in the Archipelago we see canons under the dominion of a basha.

Some



Id. page 106.] Some authors have had the weakness to relate that Mahomet II. said to the patriarch Gennadius; "The Holy Trinity makes thee, by the authority which I have received, œcumenical patriarch." These writers know very little of the Mussulmans, and are ignorant that our doctrine of the Trinity is held by them in the utmost abhorrence, inso-much that they think themselves defiled by only pronouncing the word, and that they look upon us as idolaters, who worship many gods.

OF MAHOMET II.

Idem, page 110. **H**IS fortune failed him before Rhodes. The knights who are now called the knights of Malta, had, as well as Scanderberg the honour of repelling the victorious arms of Mahomet II.

It was in the year 1480, that this conqueror attacked that island, formerly so famous, and its city, which was founded a very considerable time before ancient Rome, in the most fertile spot, and under the most delicious climate; a city which had been governed by the children of Hercules, by Danaus, and by Cadmus, and was famous throughout the whole world for its brazen Colossus, dedicated to the sun. This immense work was cast in brass by an Indian; it was an hundred feet high, and under its legs (each of which rested on a spacious mole of marble) the loftiest ships could sail in and out of the harbour. Rhodes had fallen under the power of the Saracens about the middle of the

seventeenth century ; a French knight named Foulques de Villaret, grand master of the order of Rhodes, took it from them again in 1310 ; and another French knight, Peter d'Aubuffon, defended it against the Turks.

It is something very remarkable, that Mahomet II. employed a great number of renegado Christians in this expedition. The grand visir himself, who laid siege to the place, was a Christian ; and what is more strange, of the imperial house of the Paleologi. One George Frupan, another Christian, had the direction of the works under the grand visir's orders : we never find an instance of Mussulmans changing their religion, and serving in the Christian armies. But whence this difference ? Is it, that a religion, for whose sake they have parted with a portion of their own flesh, and which they have sealed with their own blood, in a most painful operation, is for that reason more dear to them ? Is it that the Asiatick conquerors had more respect shewn them, than the European powers ? Or lastly, is it that in the times of ignorance, the arms of Mussulmans were thought to be more favoured of God, than those of Christians, and that hence they inferred the successful cause to be the best ?

Peter d'Aubuffon at this time crowned his with triumph, by obliging the grand visir Messith Paleologus to raise the siege at the end of three months. Calcondilus tells us, in his history of the Turks, that as the besiegers were mounting the breach, they beheld a golden cross in the air encircled with a glory, and a most beautiful woman robed in white : that, struck with this miraculous appearance, they
threw

threw down their arms and took to flight. It seems however more probable that the Turks would have been rather stimulated than intimidated with the sight of a beautiful woman; and that in fact the bravery of d'Aubusson and his knights was the only miracle that obliged the Turks to give way. But this is the usual manner of writing among the modern Greeks.

STATE of GREECE under the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Idem, page
111, &c.

MOST of the stately monuments of Athens, which the ancient Romans imitated, without being able to surpass, are either in ruin, or totally lost; a little mosque is now built where the tomb of Themistocles stood; as we see a chapel of the Recollects built upon the ruins of the capital of Rome. The ancient temple of Minerva is also converted into a mosque. The Piream haven is no more; an antique lion of marble is still left standing near it, and gives its name to the harbour of Porto Leone, which is little better than a heap of rubbish. The spot where formerly stood the Academy, is now covered with some gardeners hovels. The beautiful remains of the Stadion still inspire veneration and concern, and the temple of Ceres, which has escaped the injury of time, gives us a glimpse of what Athens formerly was. This city, which conquered the great Persian monarch Xerxes, contains between 16 and 17,000 inhabitants, who crouch and tremble beneath the power of 1200 Janizaries, who carry no-
H 5 thing

thing but a white wand in their hands. The Spartans, the ancient rivals and conquerors of Athens, are confounded in the general subjection. They long struggled for their liberty, and still seem to retain somewhat of that ferocity and haughtiness of manners, which Lycurgus taught them.

The TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

Idem, page 113. **T**HE Alcoran, which is their civil as well as religious law, does in the very beginning, (namely in the fourth chapter) provide for the inheritance of the sons and daughters, and the traditional law and established custom supplies whatever is not expressed in the Alcoran.

DEATH of LEWIS XI. in 1483.

Vol. III. chap. lxxx. page 131. **I**T was one of the abuses of the ignorant practice of physic in those times, which had been introduced by the Jews, to prescribe the drinking the blood of young children, to old persons troubled with the apoplexy, leprosy, or convulsions.

OF CHIVALRY or KNIGHTHOOD.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxxii. page 144.

THE professors of the law erected themselves into an order, like the true knights at arms: this was a proof of the decline of ancient chivalry. The students took the name of bachelors, after having maintained a thesis, and the doctors of law called themselves knights, a title ridiculous in itself, for originally the knight (*Chevalier* or *Cavalier*) was a person who fought armed on horseback, which certainly could have no kind of connection with a civilian.

OF NOBILITY.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxxiii. page
146, 151.

AFTER what we have said in relation to feudal government, it remains to explain, as clearly as possible, what relates to the noblesse, who were a long time the sole possessors of fiefs.

The term *noble* at first was a title that neither conferred rights, nor was hereditary. *Nobilitas*, among the Romans, signified any thing eminent or worthy notice*, and not an order of citizens. The senate was instituted to

* Hence the line in Horace, *Virtus sola Nobilitas*, may be properly rendered, "Virtue is the only true distinction," and not "the only true nobility."

judge the knights †, to fight on horseback when they were rich enough to keep a horse ; and the plebeians were frequently knights, and sometimes senators.

Among the Gauls, the government was in the hands of the principal officers of towns, and the Druids, to whom the people paid obedience. Every country has something different in its form of government. Those who say that all men are equal, speak the strictest truth, if they mean that all men have an equal right to liberty, to the enjoyment of their own property, and to the protection of the laws. But they would be guilty of a great error, if they thought that all men ought to be upon an equality in regard to rank and employments, when they are not so in regard to their talents or capacities. In this necessary inequality of conditions, neither the ancients, nor indeed nine parts out of ten of the habitable globe, were acquainted with any thing that bore the least resemblance to what we call nobility, as it is now established in Europe.

The laws and customs of this order have varied like all other things : we have already shewn you that the most ancient hereditary nobility, was that of the Patricians of Venice, who had seats in the council, as early as the fifth century, before there was a doge ; and if there are any descendants of these first magistrates, as it is said, they are undoubtedly the first nobles in Europe. It was the same in the ancient repub-

† Called by the Romans *Equites* from *Equus*, an horse, as the French *Chevalier*, and the Spanish *Cavaliere*, from *Cheval* and *Cavallo*.

lics of Italy. This nobility was annexed to dignity and employ, and not to lands.

In every other country, nobility became the portion of those who was possessed of lands. The Herren of Germany, the Ricos Hombres of Spain, and the Barons of France and England, enjoyed an hereditary nobility, merely because their feudal or non-feudal lands remained in their families. The titles of duke, count, viscount, marquis, were at first dignities or offices for life, which afterwards passed from father to son, some sooner, others later.

Upon the decline of the family of Charlemagne, almost all the states of Europe, the republics excepted, were governed as Germany is at present ; and we have seen that every possessor of a fief exercised sovereign authority in his own territories, as far as he was able.

It is clear that sovereigns owned no service to any other, except what the petty ones engaged themselves to pay to the great. Thus a castellan or sovereign lord of a castle, paid a pair of spurs to a viscount, who paid a falcon to a count, and this last some other mark of vassalage to a duke. These all acknowledged the king of their country for their lord paramount, though he could not impose a tax upon any one of them. They owed the service of their persons, because they fought for their lands and for themselves, in fighting for the state, and the chief of their state; and hence it comes that, at present, the new nobles, or those who have been ennobled, without being possessors of lands, do not pay the tax laid upon landholders, and known by the name of *Taille*.

The

The masters of castles and lands, who composed the body of nobles in all countries, except in the republics, endeavoured as much as possible to enslave the inhabitants of their lands; but the great towns always opposed them in this, as the magistrates of these towns would upon no account be the fiefs or vassals of a count, a baron, or a bishop, and much less of an abbot, who arrogated to himself the same honours as a baron, or a count. The cities on the Rhine and the Rhone, and others of greater antiquity, such as Autun, Arles, and particularly Marseilles, flourished long before there were either lords or prelates. Their magistracy was several centuries prior to the existence of fiefs; but the barons and castellans got the better, almost every where, of the citizens; and although the magistrates were not serfs of the lord, they were at least his burghers; and hence it comes that in many ancient charters we find sheriffs (*echevins*) and mayors, entitle themselves burghers of a count, or a bishop, and king's burghers. These burghers could not change their habitation without the permission of the lord, and paying a considerable fine. This kind of servitude is still in force in Germany.

In like manner as the fiefs were distinguished into frank fiefs, which owed no service to the lord paramount, and into great and little fiefs, which did owe service: so there were also *franch burghers*, that is to say, those who purchased the right of exemption from all service to their lord; *grand burghers*, who were possessed of civil employs, and *petty burghers*, who in many respects were slaves.

This

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This form of government, which had been raised by insensible degrees, fell to decay in like manner, in several countries, and in others were entirely abolished.

The kings of France, for example, at first ennobled the burghers, by conferring on them titles without lands. It is said there was found amongst the collection of charters of France, letters of nobility, granted by Philip I. in 1095, to a burgher of Paris, named Eudes le Maire; and St. Lewis undoubtedly made his barber, La Brosse, noble, in creating him his chamberlain. Philip III. who ennobled his banker Raoul, was not, as some say, the first king who assumed the privilege of changing the condition of his subjects. Philip the Fair did, in like manner, bestow the title of noble and esquire, *miles*, on the burgher Bertrand, and some others. This example was followed by all other crowned heads. In the year 1339, Philip of Valois ennobled Simon de Luci, president of the parliament, and his wife Nicole Taupin.

In 1350, king John ennobled William de Dormans, his chancellor: for at this time, the office of clerk, lawyer, or of the long robe, gave no rank among nobility, notwithstanding that the clerks assumed the title of knights of the law, and bachelors of law. Thus we find John Pastourel, the king's advocate, ennobled, together with his wife Sédille, by Charles V. in 1354.

On the other hand, the kings of England created counts and barons, who had neither county nor barony. The emperors exercised the same privilege in Italy; and after their example, the possessors of great fiefs took the
same

same liberty. We have even an instance of a count de Foix, who assumed the power of ennobling, and by this means of correcting the deficiency of fortune in birth. He granted a patent of nobility to one master Bertrand, his chancellor, and the descendants of this Bertrand called themselves noble; but it was at the option of the king and the rest of the nobles to acknowledge this title or not. Private lords of Orange, of Saluces, and many others, assumed the same licence.

The military body of Frank-archers and *Taupins*, in the reign of Charles VII. being exempted from the payment of taxes, thereupon assumed the titles of noble, and esquire, without any permission, and these titles were afterwards confirmed by time, which establishes and overturns all customs and privileges; and several great families in France are descendants of these *Taupins*, who made themselves noble, and who merited that title on having served their country.

The emperors not only created nobles without lands, but counts palatine also. This title was given to the doctors of the universities. The emperor, Charles IV. first introduced this custom, and Bartolus was the first on whom he conferred the title of count, which, however, did no more entitle the descendants of this Bartolus to a seat in the chapters, than it would those of the *Taupins*.

The popes, who pretended to be superior to the emperor, thought it concerned their dignity to create palatines and marquisses also; and the legate, who governed the provinces belonging to the holy see, were very lavish in conferring

ring these titles ; hence it comes that there are so many more counts and marquisses in Italy than feudal lords.

In France, after Philip the Fair had established the court called parliament, the lords of fiefs, who had seats in that court, were obliged to avail themselves of the assistance of clerks, taken either from among the lower rank of people, or the bodies of frank, grand, or petty burghers. These clerks quickly assumed the title of knights and bachelors, in imitation of the nobility ; but it is plain that the title of knight, which was given them by their clients, did not make them nobles at court, since the attorney-general Pastourel, and the chancellor Dormans, were obliged to take letters (patents) of nobility for themselves. The students of the universities took the title of bachelor, after passing one examination, and that of licentiate after the second, not daring to assume that of knight.

It may appear to have been a great contradiction, that the professors of the law, who had a right to sit in judgment on the nobles, should not themselves enjoy the right of nobility. This however was really the case in all countries ; but in France indeed, they enjoyed the same privilege of exemption as the nobles, during their own lives. It is true, that their rights did not entitle them to sit in the general assembly of the states, as lords of fiefs, to carry a bird on their fief, or to serve in person in the field, but only consisted in not paying the taille, and in being called *Messire* †.

† A complimentary term, much like that of *Your Worship*, given to our justices of the peace.

France has been always remarkable for the mutability of its laws and customs, the former of which have never been sufficiently clear and well understood. The bar has always been in a fluctuating state. The courts of justice, which the French call parliaments, have frequently determined on the pretensions of children of officers of the long robe to the right of nobility. In 1540, the parliament of Paris decreed that the children of the king's attorney, Jean le Maitre, had a right to inherit as noble. Afterwards, namely in 1578, it gave a like decree in favour of a chancellor, named Menager : but the civilians were divided in their opinion concerning these rights, which had been insensibly annexed to the long robe by custom. Louet, a counsellor of the parliament, pretended that the children of magistrates could inherit only as commoners, and that none but grand-children were entitled by birth-right to the rank of gentlemen.

The court, however, did not regulate its opinion by that of the civilians ; for, in the year 1582, Henry III. declared, by an edict, " that no one, except those of a noble house and family, should presume thenceforth to take the title of noble, or name of esquire."

Henry IV. shewed himself less strict and more just, when, in his edict concerning the regulation of the taxes issued in the year 1600, he declared (though in very vague terms) " that those who had served the nation in honourable posts, might begin to give a right of nobility to their posterity."

This dispute, of so many ages standing, seemed happily terminated by Lewis XIV. in the month

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month of July 1644 ; but the event proved otherwise. We must here step a little aside from the order of time, in order to throw as much light upon this matter as possible. You will find in the age of Lewis XIV. * the civil war that was excited in Paris during that prince's minority. It was during this war, and in the year 1644, that the parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and all the other courts of the provinces, obtained " the privileges of nobles by birth, gentlemen " and barons of the kingdom," to descend to the children of counsellors and presidents, who should have served twenty years, or have died in the exercise of their offices. By this edict their rank seemed ascertained.

Could any one then think that Lewis XIV. would, in 1669, himself sitting in parliament, resume these privileges, and only maintain all these officers of justice in the employment of *their ancient privileges*, revoking all the rights of nobility which he had granted to them in 1644, and afterwards till this very year 1669 ?

Lewis XIV. with all his power, has not been able to deprive such a number of citizens of a right which he bestowed on them under his own hand. It is not very easy for one man to oblige so many others to strip themselves of what they have looked upon as a part of their property. The edict of 1644 has therefore prevailed, and the courts of judicature have enjoyed the rights of nobility; the nation not chusing to contest this point with those whose office it is to judge the nation.

* See vol. vi. of this work.

While the magistrates of the superior courts were thus disputing about their rank, from the year 1300, the burghers and officers of the towns were in a still more uncertain state. Charles V. called *the Wise*, for having gained the affections of the citizens of Paris, granted them several of the privileges of nobility, such as bearing coat-armour, and holding fiefs without paying the fine, which is called the tax of frank-fiefs; but Henry continued this privilege to the provost of the merchants, and four echevins (or sheriffs.) The mayors and sheriffs of several towns in France enjoy the same rights, some by ancient customs, others by grant.

The most ancient grant of nobility given to the office of the pen in France, was that of the king's secretaries. These were originally what the secretaries of state are at present, and were called (*clercs du secret*) clerks of the privy-council: now, as they wrote immediately under the kings, and forwarded all their orders, it appeared but just that they should enjoy some mark of distinction; and the privilege of nobility which they were entitled to after 20 years service, served as a model to the officers of the courts of judicature.

And here we principally perceive the extreme mutability of customs in France. The secretaries of state, who had originally no other right than that of signing the dispatches, and who could not give any authenticity to these, but in virtue of their offices of clerks of the privy-council, or the king's private notaries, are even become ministers of state, and the powerful instruments of the will of an all-powerful monarch. They have assumed the
title

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title of *monsigneur*, which was formerly given only to princes and to knights, and at the same time the king's secretaries are confined to the chancery, where their whole office consists in signing patents. The number of these useful members have been augmented to three hundred, solely for the sake of raising money; and this shameful method has perpetuated the French nobility in upwards of six thousand families, whose chiefs successively bought their offices for a stipulated sum.

A prodigious number of subjects, of other denominations, such as bankers, surgeons, merchants, household-servants to princes, and clerks in offices, have obtained letters of nobility, and in the course of a few generations wrote themselves, in any public proceedings, most high and mighty lords. Titles of this kind have debased the ancient nobility, and have done no great honour to the new.

The personal service of the ancient knights and esquires being at length wholly laid aside, and the general assembly of the states being no longer assembled, the privileges of both ancient and modern nobility are now limited to the payment of the capitation (poll tax) instead of the *taille*. Those, whose fathers were neither sheriffs nor counsellors, nor ennobled persons, have been distinguished by appellations which are now become offensive, such as *villains* and *roturiers*, (i. e. peasants.)

The term *villain* comes from *villa*, a town or city, because formerly only nobles were lords of castles, and *roturier* from *ruptura terræ*, the breaking up of the land, husbandry; hence it has fallen out more than once, that a lieutenant

nant-general of the forces, a brave officer, covered with scars, has been obliged to pay the taille, while the son of a clerk in an office has enjoyed the same privileges as the first officers of the crown. This shameful abuse was not remedied till the year 1752, by Mr. d'Argenson, secretary at war, who has served the army more than any other minister, and to whose merit I the more readily do justice in this place, as he has been lately degraded.

The ridiculous multiplicity of nobles, without office, or real nobility, this debasing distinction between the useless noble, who pays nothing to the state, and the useful plebeian, who contributes his share to the taxes ; those posts which are only obtained by money, and which confer the empty title of esquire, are abuses which we do not meet with in any other country, and are the effects of a kind of frantic desire in a government, to stamp a mark of degradation on the major part of the nation. In England, whoever is possessed of an estate of forty shillings per annum, in land, is a freeholder, a free-born Englishman, and has a right to the nomination of his representatives in parliament. Every one who is not a handicraft trade is a gentleman, and there are no nobles in the strictness of the term, but those who represent the ancient barons and peers of the realm, in the upper house (or house of lords).

There are many free states in which the privileges of birth are of no advantage, and in which they admit only those of citizen ; and even in the city of Basil, no gentlemen can hold any office in the republic, unless he relinquishes his privileges of a gentleman ; and yet in every free
state

state the magistrates only take the title of *nobilis*, noble. It is without dispute the most eminent nobility to have been at the head of a republic, from father to son; but such is the force of custom and prejudice, that four hundred year possession of so refined a dignity, would not exempt the bearer in France from paying the *taille*, nor gain him admittance into the most inconsiderable chapter in Germany.

These customs form a complicated picture of human vanity and inconstancy; but happily it is the least melancholy part of the history of human kind.

OF TOURNAMENTS or JOUSTS.

THE tournaments, so long famous throughout christendom, and so often anathematized, were games far more noble than the wrestling, the throwing of the disque, or the races of the Greeks; and not near so barbarous as the fights of gladiators among the Romans. Our tournaments bore no resemblance to these ancient diversions, but were much of the same kind with the military exercises so common in old times, and the games which we find described in Homer. These warlike games first took their rise in Italy, in the reign of Theodoric, who suppressed the gladiators of the 5th century, not by a prohibitory edict, but by reproaching the Romans with this barbarous custom, in order that they might learn politeness of a Goth. After this there were frequently military games in Italy, and particularly in the kingdom of Lombardy, as also petty combats, called *battaglie*, which are still kept up in the cities of Venice and Pisa.

This

This custom was soon adopted by other nations. Nithard tells us, that in the year 870, the sons of Lewis the Feeble celebrated their reconciliation by solemn tilts, which were afterwards called tournaments; and in which, says he, *Ex utraque parte, alter in alterum veloci cursu ruebant* *.

The emperor Henry, the Fowler, celebrated his coronation in 920 by one of these military entertainments, in which the parties fought on horseback. The preparations were as splendid as could be in a country so poor, that it had not one fortified town but what had been built by the Romans along the banks of the Rhine.

This custom became general in France, England, Spain, and among the Moorish nations. We know that Geofroi de Precielli, a knight of Touraine, compiled certain law, to be observed in the celebration of these games towards the end of the 11th century. Some pretend that the name of tournament came from the city of Tours, for the combatants did not turn in these exercises as they did in the chariot-races among the Greeks and Romans. But it is more probable, that tournament was derived from the sword with a turned point, *ensis torneaticus*, in law-latin, it not being permitted in these games to strike with any other pointed weapons but the lance. These games were, at their first institution, called by the French, *emprises*, *feats of arms*, the word *feat* shewed that the combat was not to be mortal. These games were also called *Behourdis*, from the name of an armour, or breast plate, with which their horses were co-

* Either party ran at each other full speed.

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vered. René of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Lorrain, though not in possession of a foot of either of these dominions, who was very fond of making verses and tournaments, made also several new rules and orders to be observed in those pastimes.

“ Whosoever, says he, in his laws, will hold
 “ a tournament or joust (behourdi) must be a
 “ prince, or at least a high baron.” The person
 who held the tournament sent an herald with a
 sword to the prince whom he invited, desiring
 him to appoint judges of the field.

“ Tournaments, says good king René, may
 “ be of abundant utility, inasmuch as it may hap-
 “ pen that some young knight or esquire, by
 “ his achievements therein, may acquire the
 “ good graces or greater affection of the lady
 “ whom he serveth.”

Then follow the several ceremonies to be observed in these exercises, such as the hanging the armorial ensigns or banners of the contending knights or esquires at the windows, or on the galleries round the list.

Every thing was done in honour of the ladies. According to the laws of good king René, they were to examine the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the prizes to the victors; and if any knight or esquire, who was a candidate at these tournaments had spoken ill of any lady, the other candidates beat him with their swords till the ladies cried out *grace*, (or enough!) or else he was placed astride on the rails that went round the list, as a soldier is now set upon the wooden horse.

Besides these tournaments, there were likewise *pas d'armes*, and of these amusements king René was likewise the law-giver. The *pas d'armes*

of the dragon's throat held near Chinon in 1446 was very famous. Some time after that of the *chateau de la joyeuse garde*, or the castle of Merry Men, acquired still greater reputation. In these combats the trial of skill was to defend the entrance of a castle, or the passage of a high road. René had much better have tried his skill to enter into Sicily or Lorraine. The device of this gallant prince was a chaffing-dish full of live coals, with these words, "full of ardent desire:" this ardent desire was not for the recovery of the dominions which he had lost, but for the charms of mademoiselle Gui de Laval, with whom he was in love, and whom he married after the death of his wife Isabella of Lorrain.

These ancient tournaments first gave rise to armorial bearings, about the beginning of the 12th century: and whatever of that nature is supposed to have existed before that time is evidently fictitious, as are likewise the pretended laws of the knights of the round table, so much talked of in romance. Every knight who presented himself at the list with his beaver or helmet closed for combat, had some arbitrary figures or symbols painted on his shield, or coat of arms. Hence came the knights of the eagle, of the lion, &c. names so famous in the writings of the old novelists. The terms of blazonry, which at present seem such an absurd and barbarous jargon, were then words in common use. Flame colour was called *gules*; blue, *sinople* or *azure*; a stake was called a *pale*, and a band or belt, a *fess*, *fascia*.

If there was ever any reason for encouraging these warlike sports, it was in the times of the crusades, when the exercise of arms were consecrated

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crated by necessity ; and yet it was at this very period that the popes thought proper to prohibit them, and to anathematize an image of war, when they themselves were perpetually stirring up real ones. Among others Nicholas III. that pontiff who had advised the massacre of the Sicilian vespers, excommunicated all those who had engaged in, or were even present at a tournament held in France by Philip the Bold in 1279. But there were other popes who approved of these combats ; and king John of France entertained pope Urban V. with one of these shews, when, after his return from his captivity in England, he went to take up the cross at Avignon on the mad project of fighting against the Turks, instead of setting himself to repair the disasters of his own kingdom.

Tournaments were not admitted into the Greek empire till very late. The Greeks in general held all the customs of the West in contempt ; they despised the badge of coat-armour, and treated the science of heraldry as ridiculous. At length in 1326 the young emperor Andronicus, having espoused a princess of the house of Savoy, some young gentlemen of that country gave the diversion of a tournament at Constantinople, and the Greeks from thence became accustomed to these military exercises. But the Turks were not to be resisted by tournaments ; it required well disciplined armies, and an able government, two things which the Greeks were scarcely now masters of.

The custom of holding tournaments kept its footing throughout all Europe. One of the most solemn and magnificent was that which was held at Boulogne-sur-mer in the year 1309, on

the occasion of the marriage of Isabella of France with king Edward II. of England. Edward III. held two very fine ones afterwards in London. There was even one held at Paris in the year 1415, during the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. After this came those of René of Anjou, of which we have already spoken. They continued to be very frequent till the death of Henry II. of France, who, as we all know, was killed at one of these diversions in the palace of the Tournelles in the year 1559. This accident, one would imagine, should have put a final stop to them.

But the idle lives of the Greeks, joined to habit and a natural inclination, revived these bloody amusements at Orleans in less than a year after the tragical end of Henry II. Here prince Henry de Bourbon Montpensier was the victim by a fall from his horse, which cost him his life. This put a total stop to tournaments. But there still remained a faint image of them in the *pas d'armes* held by Charles IX. and Henry III. a year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for in those days festivals and proscriptions always went hand in hand. These *pas d'armes* were not attended with any danger, as the combatants fought only with blunt weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuse in 1581: the word tournament is therefore improperly applied by L'Etoile in the account he gives us of these diversions in his journal. The *grandeës* did not fight at all; and what he calls a tournament was only a kind of warlike ballet, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre by hired performers, and was a shew given to the court, and not given by the court itself.

itself. The games which afterwards went by the name of tournaments were only carousals *.

We may therefore date the suppression of tournaments from the year 1560. With them expired the spirit of chivalry, which appeared no more afterwards but in romance. This spirit prevailed greatly in the reign of Francis I. and the emperor Charles V. Philip II. who seldom stirred out of his own palace, encouraged no merit but that of a blind submission to his will. After the death of Henry II. France was plunged in fanaticism, and desolated by religious wars. Germany divided between the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist factions, forgot the ancient customs of chivalry: and in Italy they were lost in the spirit of intrigue.

The *pas d'armes*, the combats of the lists, and the imitation of the ancient tournaments, every where abolished, were succeeded by the bull-fight in Spain, and carousals in France, Italy, and Germany. It would be superfluous to give a description of these games in this place, after that which we have given of the grand one held by Lewis XIV. in the age of that monarch †. The last carousal which was held was that at Berlin in the year 1750, which was finely executed, and at which the brothers of the king of Prussia distinguished themselves greatly by their skill and address. All these military games begin now to be entirely out of use; and of the many exercises which formerly rendered the body so robust and agile, none now remain, but that of hunting, and even this is greatly neglected of late by the crown-

* Vol. III. chap. C. pag. 296.

† Vol. VI.

ed heads of Europe. Pleasures have had their revolutions as well as every other thing.

OF D U E L S.

THE manner of educating our nobility greatly encouraged the practice of duelling, which has been of so long continuance, and had its beginning with our modern monarchies. The custom of deciding the merits of a cause by a legal combat was known only to the Christians of the West. We hear of no duels among those of the eastern church: and the ancients were utter strangers to this barbarous practice. Cæsar indeed tells us, in his Commentaries, that two of his centurions, who had been always jealous of, and at enmity with each other, decided their quarrel by a challenge, but this challenge was to shew which of them should perform the most valiant feats in battle. One of them, after having slain a great number of the enemy with his own hand, being at length wounded and thrown to the ground himself, his competitor stepped in and rescued him. Such were the duels of the Romans.

The most ancient example of duels commanded by the sovereign, is in the law of Gondebaut the Burgundian, a German by family, who had usurped the dukedom of Burgundy. This method of judgment was established throughout all the West. The old Catalan law quoted by the learned du Cange, and the German and Bavarian laws, mention several cases in which the parties were ordered to determine the dispute by single combat.

In the assizes held by the crusards at Jerusalem, we find the law runs, “ Le garant que
 “ l’on lieve, si come es par pu doit répondre a
 “ qui il lieve, Tu ments et te rendrai mort ô
 “ récréan et vessi mon gage*.”

The ancient Normand customary says, “ Plain-
 “ te de meurtre doit être fait ; et si l’accusé nie,
 “ il en offre gage——et bataille il doit être ot-
 “ troyée par justice †.”

It is evident by these laws that a man accused of one murder had a right to commit two. Even civil matters were often terminated by these bloody issues. If two parties disputed an inheritance with each other, he who had the best sword was held to have the best right ; and differences between fellow-citizens were decided like those between nations by force of arms.

This law procedure experienced its changes like all other human institutions, whether wise or foolish. St. Lewis enacted that an esquire, if accused by a villain (i. e. a peasant) might fight on horseback, and that a villain accused by an esquire must fight on foot. He exempts youths under twenty-one years of age from the laws of duelling, and old persons above sixty.

The women and priests had the naming of a the champions who were to cut each other’s throats in their name ; and the success and honour of a family depended on a lucky choice. It sometimes happened, that churchmen themselves offered

* The meaning of which is, that the party accused shall say to the accuser, thou liest, and I will either make thee recant, or thou shalt die by my hand ; and here is my gage (or token of defiance.)

† That is, complaint of murder must be made, and if the accused party denies the charge, he offers challenge, in which case the law must grant him combat.

and accepted combat, and fought within enclosed ground. By the constitutions of William the Conqueror, it appears that no clerk or abbot could engage in single combat without permission first had of their bishops, "*Si clericus duellum sine episcopi licentia suscepit, &c.*"

By the laws of St. Lewis, and other precedents quoted by du Cange, it seems that those who were defeated were sometimes hanged, and sometimes beheaded or dismembered. These were called laws of honour, and authorized under the seal of this kingly saint, who is said to have wanted to abolish this custom worthy only of savages.

Justice was so far improved in the reign of Lewis the Young, that he issued an order in 1168, that single combat should be ordered only in cases where the sum exceeded five crowns, "*quinque solidos.*"

Philip the Fair published a large code of duels. If the appellant had a mind to fight by party, and name a champion to defend his cause, he was to say, "*Our sovereign lord the king, by legal essoin of my body (i. e. through bodily weakness or disease) I claim and demand to have a such a gentleman for my champion, who may in my presence, if so I can, or in my absence with the help of God, of our holy Lady, and monseigneur St. George, do true and loyal service in my name, and at my hazard, &c.*"

The two adversaries, or their champions in their stead, appeared on a day appointed, within a list eighty paces in length, and forty wide, attended by the serjeants at arms. They were to come "*mounted on horseback with their vizers down, their shields slung across their shoulders,*
their

“ their faulcheons in their hands, and their swords
 “ and daggers girt to their sides.” They were
 enjoined to bear a crucifix, or an image of the
 virgin Mary, or of some saint in their banners.
 The heralds at arms made the spectators range
 themselves on the outside of the lists on foot. No
 one being permitted to be present on horseback,
 under pain of losing his horse if a nobleman, and
 if a commoner, of losing one ear.

The marshal of the field, assisted by a priest,
 swore the two combatants on a crucifix, that their
 right was good, and that they made use of no
 enchanted arms, taking monseigneur St. George
 to witness, and renouncing heaven, if they spoke
 false. These blasphemous ceremonies over, the
 marshal cried out with a loud voice, “ Let them
 “ go on;” and then, throwing down a glove,
 the combatants went to work, and the arms of
 the vanquished was the marshal’s fee.

Much the same kind of forms was observed
 in England. But in Germany they differed
 considerably. We read in the Theatre of Ho-
 nour, and in several other ancient chronicles,
 that, in general, the village of Hall in Suabia
 was the place for these combats. The two par-
 ties applied to the assembly of the Notables, who
 are the chief magistrates of Suabia, for per-
 mission to enter the lists. On these occasions,
 they assigned to each combatant a godfather
 and a confessor; the people chanted a *libe-
 ra**; a bier surrounded by torches, and designed
 to receive the lifeless corpse of the vanquished

* *Libera nos, Domine*, A kind of hymn in the Romish
 mass book.

person, was placed at one end of the lists. The same ceremonies were observed at Warbourg.

There were a great number of these close combats all over Europe till the 13th century. From the laws of these combats came the proverbial sayings, *Les morts ont tort ; Les battus payent l'amende.*—i. e. The dead are always in the wrong ; and he that is beaten must pay all costs.

The parliament of France sometimes ordered these combats ; in the same manner as they now order proofs to be produced in writing, or by verbal evidence. In the year 1343, during the reign of Philip of Valois, the parliament came to a resolution that there was a lawful challenge, and a necessity of mortal combat, between the chevalier Dubois and the chevalier de Vervins, because the latter had endeavoured to persuade Philip, that “ Dubois had bewitched his highness the king of France.”

The duel between Legris and Carrouge, ordered by parliament in the reign of Charles VI. is famous even to this day. The dispute was, whether Legris had lain with Carrouge's wife against her consent or not ?

Long time afterwards, namely in 1442, in a solemn cause between the chevalier Patarin and the esquire Tachon, the parliament declared the affair in question did not require trial by combat ; inasmuch as it required a peremptory accusation or charge, independent of all witnesses, to warrant a legal order for a duel.

A charge of this kind happened in the year 1454, in the person of one John Picard, who was accused of having defiled his own daughter,
and

and was held by a decree to fight against his son-in-law, who was his accuser. The Theatre of Honour and Chivalry does not tell us the issue of this affair; but, be it as it might, the parliament ordered a charge of incest to be made good by parricide.

The bishops, and abbots likewise, in imitation of the parliaments and king's council, ordered close combats within their jurisdictions. Ives des Chartres reproaches the archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Orleans, with having ordered too great a number of duels of this kind in civil matters. In the year 1100, Geofroi du Maine, bishop of Angers, obliged the monks of St. Serga to prove by combat their right to certain tithes, to which they laid claim; and the champion for the monks got the cause for them by soundly cudgelling his adversary.

Under the last race of the dukes of Burgundy, the burghers of the towns of Flanders enjoyed the privilege of proving their claims with a buckler, and club. They rubbed themselves all over with tallow or grease, because they had heard the *athletæ* of old anointed themselves with oil; they next dipped their hands into a tub or bucket of ashes, and then putting some sugar or honey in their mouths, they fought till one of them dropt, and he that was overcome was hanged.

The list of these single combats, ordered by sovereigns, would swell this work to too great a size. King Francis I. issued a solemn order for two; and his son Henry II. for other two. The first of those which Henry ordered was that between Jarnac and la Chataigneraye, in the
 I 6 year

year 1547. La Chataigneraye had accused Jarnac with laying with his mother-in-law; but was this a reason for a king, with the advice of his council, to order two of his subjects to butcher one another in his presence? But such were the manners of the times. The two champions swore each upon the holy gospels, that he fought in the cause of truth, and that "he cared about him neither charms, spells, nor incantations." La Chataigneraye dying of his wounds, Henry II. made a vow never more to order duels; and the next year, he in council, issued letters patent, injoining two young gentlemen to fight within the lists at Sedan, under the inspection of the marshal de la Marck, prince of Sedan. Henry thought he had not broke his oath, because he ordered the parties to go and murder each other out of his kingdom. The court of Lorraine opposed in form this honour conferred on the marshal de la Marck, and sent a protest to Sedan, alledging that all duels between the Rhine and the Maese were, according to the laws of the empire, to be fought only by order, and in the presence, of the sovereign of Lorraine. Notwithstanding this, the field was marked out in Sedan. The motive of this order of Henry and his council, was that one of these gentlemen, named D'Ageures, had put his hand into the breeches of a young man named Fendilles. Fendilles, being wounded, confessed the accusation to have been false; upon which he was thrown out of the lists by the heralds at arms, and his arms broken: this was one of the punishments inflicted on the vanquished party. It would be difficult in our days to conceive how so ridiculous an affair could

could have been thought worthy of being decided by combat.

We must not confound these duels, which may be looked upon as judgments of the Almighty, with the single combats between the chiefs of two armies, or the knights of two adverse parties. These latter were feats of arms, and military exploits, which have ever been in use among all nations.

It is hard to determine, whether we ought to rank several cartels of defiance between king and king, and prince and prince, in the number of legal duels, or among the exploits of chivalry: there have been instances of both kinds.

When Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, and Peter of Arragon, defied each other to combat, after the massacre of the Sicilian vespers, they agreed to stake the justice of their cause upon a single combat, with the permission of pope Martin IV. as says John Baptist Caraffa, in his history of Naples. King Philip the Bald appointed Bourdeaux for the place of combat. Nothing could more resemble the old legal duels. Charles of Anjou came to the rendezvous the morning of the day appointed, and took out an action of default against his adversary, who did not arrive till the same evening. Peter, in return, took out another action of default against Charles, for not having waited for him. This singular challenge would have been ranked in the number of legal combats, if these two kings had had as great an inclination to fight with, as to brave each other. The duel which Edward III. proposed to Philip of Valois comes within

within the rules of chivalry. Philip refused his challenges, alledging that a vassal could not challenge his lord-paramount ; but afterwards, when the vassal had defeated the army of his lord, Philip offered his combat ; and Edward, who was then conqueror, refused it, saying that he was too wise to put to the hazard of a single combat what he had gained by many battles.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. defied each other, sent mutual challenges, gave each other the *lie in the throat*, but never fought. There is not a single instance of one king fighting against another within lists ; but incredible is the number of knights who lavished their blood in these exploits.

We have already taken notice of the challenge of a duke of Bourbon, who to keep himself from idleness, proposed a combat to extremity in honour of the ladies.

One of the most famous challenges is that of John de Warchin, a knight of great renown, and seneschal (or grand bailiff) of Hainault, who caused to be fixed up in all the capital cities of Europe, that he would fight *à outrance*, to extremity, either single, or himself with other five persons, with sword, lance, and battle axe, “ with the help of God, of the Holy Virgin, “ and monseigneur St. George and his lady.” The combat was to be in a village of Flanders, named Conchy ; but no person appearing to enter the lists with this Flemish hero, he made a vow to go in search of adventures throughout France and Spain, constantly armed cap-a-pie ; after which he went and made an offering of his bourdon,

bourdon, or staff, at the shrine of monseigneur St. James in Galicia. By this you may see that the original of Quixotism was in Flanders.

The most horrible duel that was ever proposed, and which nevertheless was the most excusable, was that of Arnold, or Arnaud, the last duke of Gueldres, whose territories fell to the Burgundy branch of the house of France, afterwards belonged to the Austro-Spanish branch, and one part of which is still free.

Adolphus, son to this duke Arnaud, took up arms against his father in the year 1470, in the time of Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy; and this Adolphus declared publicly, in the presence of Charles, that his father had been in possession of the dukedom long enough, and that he was determined to enjoy it in his turn, and that, if his father would accept of a small pension of 3000 florins, he would give it him willingly. Charles, who before his misfortunes was very powerful, cited both father and son to appear before him; the father, though old and infirm, threw down his pledge of combat, and demanded permission of the duke of Burgundy to fight his son in his court. The son accepted the challenge, but duke Charles would not permit the combat; and the father, having with great justice disinherited his unnatural and rebellious son, and given his dominions to Charles, that unfortunate prince lost them all, together with his own and his life, in a war still more unjust than any of the duels we have been relating.

The chief thing which contributed to the suppressing this custom, was the new method of fighting introduced into the armies. King
Henry

Henry IV. decried the use of lances at the battle of Ivry; and, at present, where the superiority of fire determines the fate of the day, a knight would have but an indifferent chance to present himself, with his lance couched in the rest, before the front of a battalion. Military courage consisted formerly in keeping firm, and armed a all points, on an horse, who was also in a manner cased with steel. In our days, it consists in marching slowly up to the mouth of the cannon that sometimes sweep away whole ranks at a discharge.

When the legal duels became out of use, and the cartels of chivalry still more so, duels between private persons began to rage with great fury; and every one took to himself, upon the most trivial occasions, that licence which was formerly wont to be demanded of parliaments, bishops, and kings.

Duels were much less frequent when courts of justice ordered them in a solemn manner; but when they came to be forbidden, they encreased out of number. They soon came to have seconds in these combats, in like manner as in those in the times of chivalry.

One of the most famous we meet with in history, is that of Cailus, Maugiron, and Livarot, against Antragnet, Riberac, and Schomberg, in the reign of Henry III. at a place now called *Place Royale*, (or the king's square) and where formerly stood the palace of Tournelles. After that, hardly a day passed without some duel happening; and this madness was carried so far, that there were companies of gendarmes, into which no person was admitted who had not fought at least one duel, or would not take

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an oath to fight one before the expiration of the year. This horrid custom continued till the reign of Lewis XIV.

OF EUROPE, in the Fifteenth Century.

SPAIN.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxv. **T**HE bastard Trastamare, a rebel against

his lawful king, had been formerly acknowledged king himself, and now they dethrone their lawful sovereign, and declared his daughter † illegitimate, though publicly born of the queen, and acknowledged by her father as his own child.



Id. page 161.] Never was injustice better coloured, succeeded more fortunately, or was justified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain, as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near to their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, by their mutual discords and divisions ; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

† Joan, daughter to Henry IV. king of Castile.

Of the STATE of the JEWS in EUROPE.

Idem, page 164—166. **A**FTER having seen how the Jews were treated in Spain, let us now examine what was their situation in the other nations of Europe. You know, that they every where exercised the business of brokers, and itinerant traders; as they did in ancient times at Babylon, Rome, and Alexandria. In France, their moveable possessions belonging to the baron or lord, in whose lands they dwelt. “The moveables of Jews” say the regulations of St. Lewis, “belong to the baron.”

A Jew could no more be taken from a baron, than his horse or his mule. The same law prevailed in Germany. The Jews are declared serfs by a constitution of Frederick II. A Jew was at first part of the domains, or property of the emperor; afterwards every lord had his Jews.

Till the end of the 14th century, it was established by the feudal laws in most parts of Europe, that when a Jew embraced christianity his effects were confiscated for the use of his lord. This, you will say, was no efficacious method to promote their conversion; but, at all events, the baron was to be indemnified for the loss of his Jew.

In great towns, and especially in the imperial cities, they had their synagogues, and enjoyed some of the privilege of citizens: but then you may be sure they paid handsomely for them; and when they became very rich, especial care was

was taken to accuse them of having crucified a young child on a Good-Friday. On this accusation, which never failed to please the populace, a law was made in several of the towns of Languedoc and Provence, permitting any one to beat or ill-use a Jew, if he was found in the streets from Good-Friday to Easter-Day.

Their chief avocation having been from time immemorial the lending of money on pledges, they were forbidden to lend upon any church ornaments, or on bloody or wet linen or cloaths. In the year 1215, the council of Lateran ordered that they should carry the figure of a small wheel on their breast, to distinguish them from Christians. These badges were changed at different times; but they were always obliged to wear some one, by which they might be known. They were expressly forbidden to take any maid servants or nurses, who were Christians, or even concubines of that religion, and there were some countries, in which they burnt those women, who had lain with a Jew man, or the man who had lain with a Jew woman, for this unanswerable reason, which we find given by the great civilian Gallus, "That it is the same thing to lie with a Jew, as with a dog."

Whenever they had any law-suit against a Christian, they were obliged to swear by Sabaoth, Eloï, and Adonai, and the ten names of God, and they were threatened with the *tertian*, *quartan*, and *quotidian* ague, if they did not speak the truth; and, if they were cast, they were sure to be hanged between two dogs.

In England they were permitted to take mortgages upon estates in the country, for monies lent thereon; and, in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*,

we find, that it cost six marks sterling to redeem any estate out of the hands of a Jewish mortgagee.

They were at different times driven out of almost all the towns in Christendom, and almost as continually recalled. Rome alone has constantly kept them within her bosom. They were totally driven out of France, in the year 1394, by Charles VI. and could never afterwards obtain permission to reside in Paris, where they had formerly occupied several whole streets. In Metz and Bourdeaux, they are permitted the use of synagogues, only because they were found in possession of that privilege at the time these towns were annexed to the crown of France; but they have constantly remained uninterrupted in Avignon, which is a part of the pope's territories. In a word, they were every where usurers, in virtue of the privilege and benediction of their own law, and every where held in detestation on that very account.

Their famous rabbins, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Aben Ezra, and others, in vain repeated to the Christians, in all their writings, We are your fathers, our scripture is yours, our books are read in your churches, and our hymns are sung there; they were answered only by being plundered, exiled, and hanged between two dogs. In Spain and Portugal, it became a fashion to burn these unhappy people. Late times have been more favourable to them, especially in Holland and England; where they are suffered to enjoy their riches, and all the rights of society, of which no one is deprived in those countries. They were even on the point of obtaining a general act of naturalization in England,

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land, in the year 1750, nay the act had actually passed for that purpose; but, at length, the universal cry of the nation, and the ridicule that was cast upon the scheme, caused it to be repealed. Numberless were the burlesque prints and satirical writings, published on this occasion, in some of which my lord Aaron and viscount Judah were represented sitting in the house of lords; the people laughed, and the Jews comforted themselves with being rich and free.

It is no slight proof of the capriciousness of the human mind, to see the descendants of Jacob carried in procession to be burnt at Lisbon, and, at the same time, candidates for the most distinguished privileges of a British subject. In Turkey, they are neither burnt nor admitted to honours; but they have made themselves the sole masters of the commerce of that country, and neither the French, the Venetians, the English, nor the Dutch, can either buy or sell there, but through the intervention of the Jews. It was an inevitable consequence of the legislation of this people, that they were to be conquerors or slaves. They were commanded to hold every other nation in abhorrence, and to look upon themselves as defiled, if they only eat out of the same dish with any one of a different faith. They gave the name of *the Nations* to about twenty or thirty small villages round about them, whom they were determined to destroy, and with whom they thought it a crime to have any thing in common. When their eyes were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them to their cost, that the world was larger than they imagined; their very law made them ene-
mies

mies to these nations, and, in short, to all mankind. They obstinately persevered in their absurd policy, when it was their interest to have changed it; their superstition encreased with their misfortunes; and their conquerors were an uncircumcised people. A Jew thought himself as much forbidden to eat out of the same dish with a Roman, as with an Amalekite. They retained all their customs, which were diametrically opposite to those of society in general; and accordingly they were deservedly treated as a people who set themselves up against all others.

Of the people called BOHEMIANS, EGYPTIANS,
or GYPSIES.

THERE was at this time another petty nation as unsettled, and as much dispersed, as the Jews, and who followed another method of rapine. There were a collection of strange people, known in France by the name of *Bohemians*, in other countries they are called *Egyptians*, *Gypsies*, or *Syrians*, and in Italy *Zingani*, or *Zingari*. They wandered in troops or companies from one end of Europe to the other, with tabors and pipes, and castenets, dancing, singing, telling fortunes, shewing tricks of legerdemain, curing diseases with certain cant words, and stealing every thing that came in their way; they observed certain religious ceremonies amongst themselves, of which neither they nor any one else knew the meaning, or the origin. These people have dwindled away considerably of late years, since mankind have begun to throw

throw off the infatuated notions of witchcraft, talismans, predictions, and possessions by evil spirits. There are still some few of them to be met with, but they become very scarce. Nothing appears more probable, than that those wretches were a remnant of the ancient priests and priestesses of Isis, intermixed with those of the goddesses of the Assyrians. These wandering tribes, as much despised by the Romans as their ancestors had formerly been revered, carried their ceremonies, and their mercenary superstitions with them all over the world. True missionaries-errant of the faith they professed, they ran from province to province to make converts of those, upon whom mere chance had confirmed their predictions, or who, having recovered by the course of nature from some slight disorders, imagined they owed their cure to the miraculous efficacy of certain unintelligible words and signs of these false prophets. The description which Apuleius gives us of these vagabond prophets and prophetesses, is the very picture of what those wandering tribes, called Bohemians or Gypsies, have for a long time been in every country in Europe. Their castenets and tabor and pipe are the cymbals and crotals of the Isean and Syrian priests. Apuleius, who spent most his life in searching after religious and magic secrets, speaks of the predictions, talismans, ceremonies, dances, and songs of these pilgrim priests, and, in particular, remarks their great skill in stealing whatever came in their way, either in the court-yards, or houses, where they were admitted.

When Christianity took place of the religion of Numa, and that Theodosius had destroyed

the famous temple of Serapis in Egypt, some of the Egyptian priests joined themselves to those of the goddess Cybele, and the goddess of the Assyrians, and went about begging alms, in the same manner as hath been since practised by our mendicant friars ; but as they could not expect any assistance from the Christians, they found it necessary to add the trade of quack-doctors to that of pilgrim, and practised chiromancy or palmistry, and formed several singular dances. Mankind love to be amused and deceived, and therefore these offsprings of the ancient priests have continued even to the present time. Such has been the end of the ancient religion of Isis and Osiris, whose very names still impress respect. This religion, altogether emblematical and highly venerable, in its origin as early as the days of Cyrus, degenerated into a medley of ridiculous and superstitious customs. It fell into still greater contempt under the Ptolemies, and, in the time of the Romans, was in a state of the utmost abjection ; and, at length, has been wholly left to a band of thieves and pickpockets. The same fate perhaps will attend the Jews, when civil society becomes more improved, and every nation carries on its own trade, without any longer sharing the fruits of their labour and industry with those wandering brokers ; then I say, the Jewish race must naturally diminish. The more wealthy amongst them begin already to despise the superstitions of their own sect, and, in a short time, they will be left wholly to themselves ; a people destitute of arts and laws, and when they are no longer permitted to fatten upon our idolence, they will be unable to keep up a separate society : for want of practice, they will

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will forget their old jargon, which is no other than a corrupt medley of Hebrew and Syriac; and, lost even to the knowledge of their own books, they will in time be confounded among the dregs of the people, with whom they live.

OF ITALY in the fifteenth Century.

Idem, page 168—171. **F**ROM the affair of the assassination of the Medicis family, we may form a clear idea of the spirit and manner of these times; Sixtus IV. (La Roverre) was then sovereign pontiff. I shall not here enter into an enquiry, as Machiavel has done, whether the Riario, whom he caused to pass for his nephews, were his own children or not; nor with Michael Brutus, whether he begot them while he was only a cordelier friar? it is sufficient to lead us to the knowledge of facts, that we are certain that he sacrificed one of these supposed nephews to the interests of Jerome Riario. We have elsewhere observed, that the jurisdiction of the Holy See was not by a great deal so extensive as it is at present. Sextus IV. wanted to strip the lords of Imola and Friuli of their possessions to enrich Jerome. The two brothers Medicis supported these princes with money and forces. The pope thought he could not secure his authority in Italy, but by the ruin of the Medicis family. A banker of Florence, named Piazzzi, who had settled at Rome, and who was an enemy to the two brothers, offered his service to the pope to get them assassinated. Cardinal Raphael Riario, Jerome's brother, was sent to Florence to manage the plot, of which Sal-

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viati,

viati, archbishop of that city, had already formed the plan; and Stephano, a dependent on the archbishop, took upon himself the executing of it. The conspirators pitched upon a day that a grand festival was to be held in the church of Santa Reparata, for the massacre of the Medicis and their friends, in the manner that the assassins of Galeas Sforza had made choice of the cathedral of Milan, and the festival of St. Stephen, to murder that prince at the foot of the altar. The instant of the elevation of the host was the time pitched upon to strike the blow, as then, the people being prostrate, and attentive to the appearance of their God, were not in a condition to obstruct their execution. Accordingly, at that very moment, Julian de Medicis was stabbed by a brother of Piazzzi, and other of the conspirators. Laurence de Medicis was wounded by Stephano, but not so mortally but that he had strength enough to take refuge in the sacristy or vestry.

When we see a pope, an archbishop, and a priest, meditating such a crime, and chusing for the perpetration of it the very instant when their God shews himself to them in his temple, we cannot doubt of the atheism of those times. Certainly, if they had thought that their Creator did really appear to them under the form of the consecrated bread, they would not have dared to offer such an insult to him: but history shews us, that though the common people adored this mystery, the grandees and statesmen laughed at it. They thought, like the ancient Romans in the time of Cæsar, and from the force of their own passions concluded there was no religion. They all made use of this horrible

argument. Men have taught us nothing but falshoods, therefore there cannot be a God. Thus the religion of nature was stifled in the hearts of almost all those who governed in those days ; and no age ever produced so many murders, poisonings, treasons, and debauchery of all kinds.

Id. page 172.] The people of Florence, who loved the family of Medicis, revenged their deaths, with interest, on the bloody perpetrators. The bishop was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence had the generosity, or prudence, to save the life of the cardinal's nephew, whom the enraged people were going to put to death, at the foot of that very altar which he had himself stained with blood, and whither he now fled for safety.

One extraordinary circumstance attending this conspiracy was, that Bernard Bendini, one of the assassins, who had retired into Turkey, was afterwards delivered up to Laurence de Medicis, by order of the sultan Bajazet ; who thus became an instrument of punishing a crime of which pope Sixtus had been the author. But, what was less extraordinary, the pope excommunicated the Florentines for having punished a bloody conspiracy, and even began war against them for it, which was happily terminated by the prudence of Medicis. You may see by this, what sort of purposes religion and the papal censure were made to serve in those days ; days that teemed with crimes whose heinousness exceeded the utmost stretch of imagination.

* * *

Ibid.] Laurence de Medicis equalled the great Cosimo in liberality, and surpassed him in

magnificences. Florence might then be said to resemble ancient Athens. There were, at one and the same time the prince Pico of Mirandola, Politiano, Marcillo Ficino, Landino, Lascaris, Calcondillo, Marcillo, whom Laurence had gathered about him, and who were perhaps superior to the seven sages of Greece, so much boasted of in history.

His son Peter, like him, held the supreme authority in Florence, and was almost sovereign of Tuscany, at the time the French made their expedition to Naples; but he was in much less credit than either of his predecessors or descendants.

Conclusion of the ARTICLE SAVONE. R O L A.

Vol. III.
chap. lxxxvii.
page 188.

MEthinks I see you look with an eye of commiseration on these scenes of absurdity and wickedness. These were the effects of the most infamous superstition which ever debased the soul of man, and the worst of all possible governments. But, consider, that it is not long since we have emerged from this darkness, and that we are not as yet altogether enlightened.

Of PICO de la MIRANDOLA.

Vol. I.
chap. lxxxviii.

THE history of this prince is merely that of a scholar of prodigious genius, who ran through

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through a vast career of errors, and being blind himself, followed the steps of others as blind as himself.

Of Pope ALEXANDER VI.

Vol. III. **G**Uicciardino believes that
chap. lxxxix. the lord of Farneza, named
and xc. After, a young man of remarkable beauty, being delivered up to the pope's bastard, was obliged to serve his beastly pleasures, and was afterwards sent, together with his natural brother, to the pope, who caused them both to be strangled.

LEAGUE of CAMBRAY, in 1508.

Vol. III. **A**LMOST all the powers who
chap. xcii. were at enmity with each other
page 212. suspended their disputes, to join in the general league, set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this resource she trusted, and to that dissension which she rightly judged would speedily happen among so many confederates. It was in her power to pacify Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league; but she disdained to make any concession, and boldly

waited the coming of the storm. This was perhaps the only time this republic was rich.

JULIUS II. against LEWIS XII.
in 1510.

Idem, page 217. **T**HE operations were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. had already taken Bologna from the Bentivoglio, and he wanted to make himself master of Ferrara. By these invasions, he destroyed the design he had formed of driving all strangers out of Italy; for the people of Bologna and Ferrara, upon seeing themselves attacked, naturally had recourse to the French for assistance against him, who, after having been the avenger of Italy, was now become its oppressor. His ambition, which had overweighed all other considerations, plunged Italy into those calamities, from which it would have been his glory to have delivered her, and suffered his interest, so far to get the better of prudence and decency, as to admit into Bologna a numerous body of Turks, who had come thither against the French army, commanded by Chaumont d'Amboise. We are indebted for the knowledge of this singular fact to Paul Jove, bishop of Nocera, who was an eye-witness thereof. Several former popes had taken up arms against the Turks. Julius was the first who made use of their assistance.

CUSTOMS of the Sixteenth Century.

Vol. III. chap. c. **T**HE Greek comedy and tragedy were revived as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the former by cardinal Bibiena, and the latter by Triffino, archbishop of Beneventum. Rucelai soon followed the archbishop. Some of the best pieces of Plautus were translated at Venice, and into verse, which they ought to be, since it was in verse that Plautus wrote them. They were performed with success on the Venetian stage, and in those monasteries where polite learning was cultivated.

The Italians imitated the Greek tragedians, and Latin comedians; but could not equal them. However, they invented a new kind of pastoral, in which they had no guide, and wherein they have never been surpassed. The *Aminta* of Tasso, and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, still continue to be the delight of all who understand the Italian tongue.

Almost all the civilised nations of Europe began at that time to see the necessity of encouraging the theatric art, which promotes society, softens the manners, and inculcates morality under the veil of pleasure. The Spaniards came somewhat near to the Italians, but they could not produce any thing regular. There was a theatre in England, but it was still more wild and irregular than that of the Spaniards. Shakspeare indeed brought it into some degree of credit towards the end of the sixteenth century. His genius pierced thro' the barbarous darkness of

the times, as that of Lopez de Vega did in Spain. It is much to be lamented, that we find so much more barbarism than real genius in the works of Shakespeare: whence comes it, that almost every one in Stockholm and Petersburg know whole scenes of the *Pastor Fido* by heart? while those of Shakespeare have never passed the limits of their sea-girt island? The reason is obvious; a real merit will be sought after by all nations: a people whose drama, music, and painting, were adapted only to their own taste, and exploded by every other polite nation, could not justly flatter themselves with having the gift of good taste.

The Italians were particularly successful in those poetical productions which were remarkable for their great length, which we would imagine were the most difficult of all others, on account of the constant sameness of the verse, and stanzas, which seem to be a cramp to their genius.

POLITE ARTS in the Sixteenth Century. The invention of PRINTING.

Idem, page 305. **T**HE parliament in 1474 ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris, by a factor from Mentz, to be seized.

Certainly a step of this kind would not have been taken in the more enlightened times: but such has always been the fate of public bodies, the most learned for their wisdom, who have acted upon no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs. Every thing that has the appearance of an innovation startles them. They stand

stand up in opposition to the rising arts, withstand every truth that seems contradictory to the errors in which they have been trained up from their youth, and combat every thing that does not fall in with the taste and manners of old times. It was this very kind of spirit that influenced the same parliament so long, and so vehemently, to oppose the reformation of the calendar, to forbid the teaching any other tenets than those of Aristotle, to prohibit the administration of Venato, that obliged the court to issue several letters of Jussien, to make them register the patent of nobility granted to one of the Montmorency family, and that induced them to oppose, for a considerable time, the establishment of the French academy. As no one single member of a public body is responsible for the proceedings of that body, the most irrational counsels sometimes pass uncontradicted. This made the duke of Sully say, in his memoirs, "That if Wisdom" "was to descend upon earth, she would rather" "fix her residence in the head, than in those of" "a collective body."

Lewis XI. who never acted badly, where his interest was not concerned, and who was always governed by reason, when not blinded by his passions, took the cognizance of this affair from the parliament: he would not suffer the French nation to be for ever dishonoured by prohibiting the art of printing; but ordered the artists of Mentz to be paid the full price of their book.

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[Ibid.] About an hundred artists of every kind formed that age, which the Italians distinguished by the name of the *Seicento*. Several of these great geniuses were unfortunate, and persecuted;

secuted ; but posterity has revenged their memories. Their age, like all other ages, produced crimes and calamities, but had that advantage over other ages which superiority of genius always bestows. Thus it happened with the age that produced Sophocles and Demosthenes, and with that which gave the world a Virgil and a Cato. These men who, in their respective spheres, were the preceptors of the world, could not keep Alexander from killing Clytus, nor Augustus from signing proscriptions. Neither could Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, prevent Lewis XIV. from committing great faults. Crimes and disasters have been the produce of every age ; fine arts have had only four.

FRANCIS I. set at Liberty in 1526.

Vol. III. **H**ENRY d'Albert, who was chap. ciii. kept a prisoner in Pavia, found page 22. means to escape, and returned to France. Francis I. by being better guarded in Madrid, was obliged to purchase his liberty, by ceding to the emperor the whole duchy of Burgundy, a part of the Franche Compté, all the places he laid claim to on the other side of the Alps, the lordships of Flanders and Artois, the towns of Arras, Lisle, Tournay, Mortagne, Hedin, St. Arnent, and Ochie ; and, to complete his humiliation, he marries, while in prison, the sister of the emperor, his conqueror. The count de Lanoy, one of the emperor generals, who had taken him prisoner, enters his apartment, booted, to oblige him to sign this forced contract of marriage. The treaty

treaty of Madrid proved as fatal as that of Bretigni had been ; but Francis I. when at liberty, did not, like king John, fulfil his engagements.

* * *

Idem.] This unfortunate affair redounded very little to the glory of Francis I. He had given his promise to Charles V. to put him in possession of Burgundy, a promise made with weakness, and falsified with reason, though with disgrace. He underwent a severe reproach from the emperor for his breach of faith ; and though he replied, " You lie in your throat, and every time you say so, you lie," the law of policy was for Francis ; but the laws of chivalry was against him.

Pope CLEMENT VII. Prisoner in 1527.

Id. page 23.] **T**HE German and French troops lived at discretion in Rome during nine months. The plunder of that city is said to have amounted to 15 millions of crowns.

This seemed the period to become really emperor of Rome, and to complete what had been begun under the Charlemagnes and the Othos ; but by a singular fatality, which has always arisen from the mutual jealousy between nations, the new Roman empire has never been other than a phantom.

Conduct of FRANCIS I.

Vol. IV. chap. civ. **I**N the year 1535 he caused a number of poor Lu-

page 29. thrans to be burnt at Paris.

Father Daniel puts in the margin of his history, *An Example of Piety*. This example of piety consisted in suspending the poor victims on a high gallows, from whence they are lowered several times into the fire, till they were thus gradually consumed. This was an example indeed, but of the most refined barbarity, and that fills us with as much horror against the historians who praise it, as against the judges who ordered it.

It is moreover said, that Francis declared publicly that he would put his own children to death if they were heretics ; and yet, in the height of those very proceedings, he wrote to the famous Melancthon, one of the founders of the Lutheran religion, inviting him to his court.

Charles V. gave an example of a very different conduct. Although the Lutherans were his professed enemies, so far was he from delivering torches into the hands of the executioners, or loading Christians with chains, that, on the contrary, he delivered, from their captivity in Tunis, 18,000 Christian slaves, Protestants as well as Catholics.

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The GENEVANS.

Idem, page 31. **T**HESSE people maintained, that a bishop has no right to sovereign authority ; that the apostles were not princes ; and that if, during the times of anarchy and barbarism, bishops had usurped the dominion of provinces, the people in more enlightened times had an undoubted right to take them from them again.

Interview between CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. in 1536.

Idem, page 32. **T**HERE were many horrible transactions in these days, and some that were ridiculous.

Francis, the dauphin, son to Francis I. died of a pleurisy. One Montecuculi, an Italian, his cup-bearer, is accused of having poisoned him, and Charles V. is universally looked upon as the author of this murder. But what advantage could the emperor have reaped by procuring the death of a prince of only 18 years of age, who had never made any noise in the world, and who moreover had a brother ? However, Montecuculi was drawn in pieces by horses. This is the horrible part of the affair ; now for the ridiculous :

Francis I. who by the treaty of Madrid, was no longer lord of Artois and Flanders, and who was set at liberty only on condition of relinquishing that title, causes the emperor to be
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summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, in quality of count of Flanders and Artois, his vassal. The attorney-general, Cappel, takes out a decree against Charles for non-appearance, and the parliament declares him a rebel.

Of BARBAROSSA in 1543.

Id. page 36. **H**E exercised absolute authority in Toulon. He caused a great house to be converted into a Turkish mosque; thus the same king, who had suffered so many Christians of the Lutheran faith to perish in his kingdom by the most cruel torments, permitted the Mahometans the free exercise of their religion within his dominions. This is the piety so praised by father Daniel; and thus it is that historians disgrace their characters. An historian, who was at the same time a good member of society, would have acknowledged, that maxims of state had made it necessary to burn the Lutherans, and shew countenance to the Mahometans.

Death of FRANCIS I.

Idem, page 39. **U**NDER this prince France began to emerge from barbarism, and its language became more refined. There are still extant some of the productions of those times, which, if they have not all the regularity requisite, have at least the merit of a sprightly simplicity; such are the epigrams

grams of the bishop St. Gelais, Clement Marrot, and Francis I. himself. The following lines were written by him under a picture of the famous Agnes Sorel :

Gentille Agnès plus d'honneur en mérite,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloître ouvrir
Close nonnain ou bien dè vot hermite.

He likewise composed memoirs on military discipline, at the time he was endeavouring to establish in France the Roman legions; but he was obliged to fetch painters, sculptors, and architects, from Italy.

He proposed building the palace of the Louvre, but he had scarce time to lay the first stone. His magnificent design of a royal college could not be executed, but however his bounty established schools for teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages, and geometry, which the universities were not able to teach. There was not a single person in France, before his time, who could so much as read the Greek character.

In the schools, in the courts of justice, in the public acts, and in private contracts, they made use of no other than a bad Latin, called the Latin of the middle age, which was a remnant of the ancient barbarous dialect of the Franks, Lombards, Germans, Goths, and English, who neither knew how to form a regular language, nor to speak good Latin.

Rodolphus of Hapsbourg had ordered, in Germany, that all pleadings and decrees should be in the language of the country. The same custom was established in Castile, by Alphonfus the Wise, and by Edward III. in England. At length,

length, Francis I. also ordered, that those who had the misfortune to be engaged in law-suits, should at least have the satisfaction of reading their ruin in their own mother-tongue. But the refinement of the French tongue was not owing to this order ; it is to the spirit of the king and his court that we are indebted for this improvement.

Abdication of CHARLES V. in 1558.

Vol. IV. chap. cv. **I**T has been said that
 page 43. his brain was hurt by his retirement in the monastery of St. Justin ; and indeed his passing his time in hanging and unhangng pendulums, and in teasing the novices, in playing the farce of his own interment, in wrapping himself up in a winding-sheet, and in chaunting forth his own funeral anthem, was no great proof of a sound mind. The man who had made Europe and Africa tremble, and who had repulsed the conqueror of Persia, died mad. His whole family were instances of the excess of human weakness.

His grand-father, Maximilian, wanted to be made pope. His mother Joan went mad, and was confined, and he shut himself up amongst a parcel of monks, where he died as mad as his mother.

But here let us not forget that pope Paul IV. would never acknowledge, as emperor, Ferdinand I. in whose favour his brother Charles had resigned the royal dignity. This pontiff pretended that Charles had no power to abdicate without his permission. The archbishop, elec-
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ter of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, issued all his acts and decrees in the name of Charles V. to the day of that prince's death. This is the final epoch of the pretensions which the popes had so long set up to the disposal of the empire. Had we not already seen so many examples of these pretensions, we should be apt to imagine that Paul IV. had his brain more injured than even Charles V.

OF L E O X.

Vol. IV. chap cvi. **I**N the hundred articles of complaint
page 49. some time before exhibited

by the imperial diet, during the reign of Maximilian I. against the abuses of the church, there is one that charges the bishops with selling to the inferior clergy, for the yearly payment of one crown, the right of keeping a mistress, which sum was to be paid whether they made use of this indulgence or not.



The birth of learning in part of Germany, in London, and afterwards in Paris, in consequence of the improvement of the art of printing, laid the foundation for the ruin of the ecclesiastical monarchy. Certain natives of Lower Germany, whom the Italians had always held as barbarians, were the first who accustomed the minds of people to disuse what had once been the object of their veneration. Erasmus, notwithstanding he had himself been for a considerable time a monk, rather for that very reason, exposed these gentry in so ridiculous a light
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in most of his writings, that they were never able to get the better of it. The author of *Letters of obscure Men* diverted all Germany at the expence of the Italians. The latter, till that time, thought the Germans not capable of being even good jokers; but they were now cured of their error, and the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution that proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

Of LUTHER, &c.

Vol. IV. chap. cvii. and **Y**OU may have
cviii. page 54,—65. observed that

all the disputes about religion came hitherto from the priest, for Pietro Valdo, the merchant of Lyons, who passes for the author of the sect of the Vaudois, was not so, but only assembled together his brethren, and encouraged them to persist in what they had begun. He himself was the follower of the doctrine of Berenger, of Charles bishop of Turin, and of several others of the same opinion; and it was not till after Luther's time that such crowds of laymen began to take up the business of teachers, in consequence of the various translations of the Bible, which, as they differed in their interpretations, gave rise to as many different opinions as there were different passages to explain.



The Lutherans were for having new versions of the Bible, in all the modern languages, and that these versions should be purged from all the inaccuracies and errors with which the Vulgate

is charged. In fact, when the council set about printing the common version, the six persons appointed to superintend the work, discovered no less than 8000 faults in the old version, and several learned men pretended there were many more ; so that at length the council declared the Vulgate version to be authentic, without being at the pains of the proposed correction. The present German Bible was translated by Luther from the original Hebrew ; but it is said he knew very little of Hebrew, and that his translation is much more faulty than the Vulgate.



Luther insisted that all monastic vows should be set aside, because not of primitive institution ; that priests should be allowed to marry, because some of the apostles had married wives ; that the laity should partake of the cup, because Jesus said, *Drink all of ye* ; that no worship should be paid to images, because Christ worshipped no image. In a word, he agreed with the church of Rome in no one point but that of the trinity, baptism, the incarnation, and the resurrection ; points which, nevertheless, had been formerly subjects of the sharpest disputes, and some of them had been actually controverted in late days ; so that there is no one point of devotion concerning which mankind have not been divided at one time or another.



Id page 59.] Had both sides confined themselves to invectives and abuse, Luther would have done less hurt to the church of Rome than Erasmus ; but some bold doctors having joined Luther, raised their voices, and began to exclaim not only against the dogmas of schools,
but

but also against the right which the popes, ever since the time of Gregory VII. had assumed to themselves, of disposing of kingdoms. They likewise inveighed against the shameful traffick made of every thing belonging to religion, against public and private oppression, and both in their writings, and from their pulpits, drew a moving picture of five hundred years of persecution. They represented Germany bathed in blood, through the quarrels between the diadem and the tiara, the people treated like wild beasts, and heaven opened or shut for money, by wretches guilty of incest, murder, and poisoning. With what face, said they, could Alexander VI. the horror and scandal of human kind, dare to call himself the vicar of God? or how could Leo X. sunk in the most shameful pleasure, presume to take that title?

The people were at length awakened by these repeated cries, and the German doctors stirred up a greater hatred against new Rome than ever Varus had done against the old in the same country.

OF ZUINGLIUS.

Idem, page lxv. **W**HEN we see a people, of all others in Europe the least restless and changeable, quit on a sudden one religion to embrace another, there must infallibly have been some particular cause to make so violent an impression on all minds. That which brought about so sudden a revolution in the opinions of the people of Switzerland, was as follows.

The

The two orders of Franciscans and Dominicans had been at open enmity with each other, ever since the thirteenth century. The latter had lost a great part of their credit with the people, on account of their not paying so much honour to the Virgin Mary, as their antagonists the Cordeliers or Franciscans, and that they denied her, with St. Thomas † the monk, of having been born without sin. The Franciscans; on the other hand, gained ground daily, by preaching up on all occasions the doctrine of immaculate conception, maintained by St. Bonaventure. The mutual hatred and animosity between these two orders was so great, that, in the year 1503, a Franciscan being one day preaching at Frankfort, on the subject of the blessed Virgin, and seeing a Dominican enter the church, he cried out in the midst of his sermon, that he blessed God he was not of that order, which depreciated the mother of God herself, and who poisoned kings and emperors with the consecrated elements. The Dominican, whose name was Vigan, replied with a loud voice, that he was a liar and an heretic. Upon this the Franciscan quits his pulpit, gathers the people together, and drives his enemy out of the church, after beating him in such a manner with a crucifix, that he is left dead at the door. The next year, 1504, the Dominicans held a chapter of their order at Wimpfen, in which it is resolved to take vengeance of the Franciscans, and to destroy their credit, and even their doctrine, by bringing the Virgin Mary herself into

† St. Thomas d'Aquinas. See note to chap. cxviii. page 331. Vol. IV.

the field against them. Berne was fixed upon to be the theatre of this scene. They began by spreading reports for three years together, of the mother of God having appeared several times to different persons, reproaching the Franciscans with their doctrine of immaculate conception, which she said was horrible blasphemy, and tended to rob her son of the glory of having cleansed her from original sin, and the power of hell. The Franciscans, on their parts, were not behind hand in opposing other apparitions. But at length, in the year 1507, the Dominicans having brought over a young lay-brother, called Yetser, made him their instrument to work upon the minds of the people. It was an established opinion in the convents of all orders, that if a novice quitted the habit, and did not make his profession, his soul remained in purgatory till the last judgment, unless it was released by prayers, or alms given to the convent.

The prior of the convent, who was a Dominican, entered Yetser's cell in the night, in a habit painted with devils, a great chain about his middle, leading four dogs, and casting flames out of his mouth, by means of a little round box filled with the pickings of flax, and set on fire. This horrible figure told the half-scared Yetser, that he was a monk, who in former times had quitted his habit, for which his soul was thrown into purgatory; but that it might be delivered from thence, if Yetser would consent to suffer himself to be flogged by the monks before the great altar. Yetser complied without hesitating, and delivered the monk's soul from purgatory, who appeared to him a second time, clad in a white robe, and surrounded

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ed with glory, to shew him that he was in heaven, and to recommend to him the cause of the blessed Virgin, whom the Franciscans reviled.

Some few nights after St. Barba, for whom brother Yetser had a great veneration (that is, another monk drest up for the purpose) and told him that he was a saint, and that the holy Virgin had chosen him to avenge her cause against the damnable doctrine of the Cordeliers.

At length the Virgin herself descended into his cell through the cieling, attended by two angels, and commanded him to declare to the world that she was born in original sin, and that the Cordeliers were the greatest enemies of her son; and then she concluded with telling him, that she would honour him with the five wounds with which St. Lucia and St. Catherine had been honoured.

The next night, the monk having made the lay brother drink heartily of wine, in which they had infused a quantity of opium, they pierced his hands, his feet, and his side, while he was asleep. When he awoke, he found himself all over blood. The monks cried aloud that the holy Virgin had imprinted the stigma on him, and in this condition they exposed him at the altar to the view of the people.

However, weak as brother Yetser was, he imagined he had distinguished the voice of the sub-prior in that of the blessed virgin, and began to think the whole an imposture; upon which, the monks, without further ceremony, resolved to poison him; and accordingly, when he came next to take the sacrament, they gave him a consecrated wafer, which they had previously sprinkled thick with the powder of corrosive sublimate.

sublimate; the sharpness of which upon his tongue obliged him to spit out the wafer, and thereupon the monks instantly cried out sacrilege, and loaded him with chains. To save his life, he promised upon another host, that he would never reveal the secret; however, having found means, sometime afterwards, to make his escape out of the convent, he went and made a discovery of the whole affair to a magistrate. The cause was two years depending; at the end of which time, four Dominicans were burnt before the gate of Rome, the last day of May 1509, O. S. in consequence of the sentence pronounced upon them by a bishop sent from Rome for that purpose.

This adventure brought the monks into that abhorrence which they justly deserved; and those who began the reformation, did not fail to revive the story with all the aggravations they could devise, never once reflecting, that the author of this sacrilegious act had been punished by the see of Rome itself, in the most exemplary manner. In short, every thing was forgot but the action: the people who had been witnesses to this shocking affair were ready to believe every tittle of the charge of profanation and sacrilege brought against the monks, especially those of the mendicant order, and in which the whole church was included. If those who still adhered to the worship of the church of Rome objected, that the holy see was not answerable for the crimes of the monks, they were told of the vile actions of several popes, who had been a disgrace to their sacred character and function. Nothing is more easy than to
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render a whole body odious by a detail of the crimes of some of its members.

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Id. page 67.] The opinion that it is sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness has been adopted by a great number of the learned men of our modern times; they have thought it abominable to look upon the father of all nature as a merciless tyrant to the greatest part of human kind, and a loving father only to a particular set of men in a few small countries. These learned men have doubtless been mistaken; but how humane is their error!

The Progress of LUTHERANISM.

Vol. IV. chap. **A** Power that had the right of cix. page 67-69. always governing men in the name of God, would soon make an ill use of that power. Mankind have often found themselves in religion as well as in government between a state of anarchy and tyranny, ready to fall into one or other of the gulphs.

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Id. page 70.] The law by which a man is allowed only one wife, is sometimes attended with fatal consequences, and may require certain exceptions as well as many other laws. There are some cases in which the interest of families and even of the state seems to require a person to take a second wife during the life-time of the first, where an heir is absolutely necessary, and cannot be had by the first. The law of nature then acts in concert with the public good; and as

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the end of marriage is to have children, it seems a contradiction to prohibit the only means for attaining that end.

There was but one of all the popes who properly attended to this law of nature, viz. Gregory II: who in his famous Decretal, published in the year 726, declared, that "when a man had an infirm wife, who was incapable of performing the conjugal functions, he might marry a second, provided he took proper care of the first." Luther went many steps beyond pope Gregory II.



Ibid.] Trevor, lord-chancellor of England in the reign of Charles II. was privately married to a second wife, with the consent of the first. He wrote a small treatise in favour of polygamy, and lived perfectly happy with his two wives. But cases of this kind are extremely rare.

Of the ANABAPTISTS.

Vol. IV. chap. cx. **L**UTHER had been successful in stirring up the princes, nobles, and magistrates of Germany against the pope and the bishops. Muncer stirred up the peasants against them. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country-villages in Suabia, Misnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that all men are born equal; saying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It

It must be acknowledged, that the manifesto published by these savages in the name of *the men who till the earth*, might have been signed by Lycurgus. They demanded to be exempted from the payment of all tythes but that of corn; and that a part thereof might be applied to the support of the poor; that they might be permitted to hunt and fish for their necessary subsistence; that air and water might be free; that their day-labour* might be moderated; and that they might be allowed a little wood to warm themselves. They only claimed the rights common to mankind; but they supported their claim like savage beasts.

The cruelties which had been exercised by the common people in France and England, in the reigns of Charles VI. and Henry V. were now renewed in Germany, and blown into a fiercer flame, by the breath of fanaticism. Muncer makes himself master of the town of Mulhausen in Thuringia, and while he every where preaches up a general equality of rank and possessions, obliges the inhabitants to bring all their money and effects, and lay them at his feet. The peasants all take up arms, from Saxony to Alsace. They murder all the gentlemen that come in their way, and put to death a daughter of the emperor Maximilian I. One very remarkable circumstance is, that the slaves of old, who revolted from the Romans, and who, when they found themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king one of their masters, who had escaped the general

† The French word is *corvée*, which signifies a day's work due from a vassal or tenant, to his landlord.

slaughter, so these peasants put a gentleman at their head.

OF ANABAPTISM.

Vol. IV. chap. cxi. SUCH of the conspirators
page 769. who could be found were

put to death, without mercy; and at that time all the Anabaptists throughout the United Provinces were treated as the Dutch had been by the Spaniards; they were drowned, strangled, or burnt; and, whether concerned in the conspiracy or not, whether factious or peaceable, they were fallen upon by the people of the Low Countries, as monsters, of whom it was necessary to rid the earth.

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Id. p. 77.] The change in the manners of the Anabaptists is owing to their having joined the party of the Unitarians, a sect that hold only one God; but profess great reverence for Jesus Christ. They have neither dogmas nor controversies, and though held as reprobate by other communions, live in peace with them all.

Of the religion in France during the reign of FRANCIS I.

Vol. IV. chap. cxvii. page 111. THEIR chief object was that of a concordat like the Germanic concordat. The Germans, ever jealous of their privileges, had stipulated with pope Nicholas V. that the election among the clergy should remain in full force through the whole German empire;

pire ; that they should pay no annates to Rome ; that the pope should have only the right of nominating to certain canonships during six months in the year ; and that those who were in possession should pay to the pope a certain sum then agreed upon. The rich German canonships were still looked upon as a great abuse by the civilians, and this fee paid to the see of Rome as no better than simony. It was according to them a burthensome and scandalous bargain to pay a sum to an Italian prince for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic seemed to stamp an infamy upon religion ; and the political calculators proved it to be an error of the most capital kind, for the subjects of France to send to Rome a yearly sum of 400,000 livres, at a time when their own trade did not bring them in so much as they lost by this pernicious contract. If the pope exacted this money in the light of a tribute, it was not to be suffered ; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much : but, in short, every thing was done for money. Relics, indulgences, dispensations, benefices, all were sold to the best bidder.

If religion was to be thus put up at auction, it was better, no doubt, to turn this simony to the benefit of the state, than to the profit of a bishop, who was a stranger, and who, by the law of nature and nations, had no more right to receive the first year's profit of a benefice in France than of the revenue of China or the Indies.

This agreement, which at that time occasioned so many heart-burnings, was made just before the great rupture which happened between the whole North, all England, and part of Germany, and the see of Rome, which latter, in a short

time, became more and more hated in France; and religion itself was in danger of suffering from the dislike which the church of Rome had brought upon herself.

This was for a long time the cry of all the magistrates, colleges, and universities; and these complaints were still further aggravated by the appearance of a bull issued by the voluptuous Leo X. in which the Pragmatic Sanction is called, *the depravity of the kingdom of France.*

An insult of this kind offered to a whole nation by a bull, in which St. Paul is quoted at the same time that money is demanded, still excites the indignation of the public.

OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Vol. IV. chap. **T**HERE reigned a most scandalous enmity between the old order of the Black Friars, and the new one of the White*. This jealousy resembled that between the green and blue factions in the Roman empire; but it did not cause the same seditions.

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Id. page 130.] The Franciscans or Cordeliers were the most numerous and the most busy of any of the other orders. Francis d'Assisi, who first founded this order in the year 1210, was at the same time the most simple and the most enthusiastic man in the world; fanaticism was the spirit of the times, and in some measure that of the lower class of the crusaders of the Vaudois and

* The Franciscans and Dominicans.

of the Albigenses. Francis therefore found a number of people of the same disposition as himself; and of these he formed a sect. We have already seen examples of his great zeal, and that of his companions in the holy wars, where he proposed to the sultan of Egypt to turn Christian, and friar Giles persisted so obstinately in preaching his faith to the people of Morocco.

Never were the extravagances of the human mind carried to so great a length as in the book of *the Conformity of St. Francis with Christ*, which was written during his life-time, and which was afterwards reprinted with considerable additions in the beginning by a Franciscan friar called Bartholomew Albici; in which book Christ is made to have been only the forerunner of Francis. In this book likewise we find the story of the woman of snow, that St. Francis formed with his own hands; of his miraculous cure of the mad wolf, whom he made to promise that he would never devour any more sheep; and that of a friar of their order, who being made a bishop, was afterwards deposed by the pope, and who having died during his deposition, returned again to life, and carried a letter of rebuke to the same pope.



The Minims did neither hurt nor good. This order was founded by a man of a weak judgment; one Francisco Martorillo, the same whom Lewis XI desired to prolong his life. This Martorillo having made a rule in Calabria, that his monks should eat every thing with oil, because oil is to be had in that country for little or nothing, made the same rule for the monks, whom he established in the northern countries of France, where no olives grow, and where of consequence oil is

sometimes so dear, that the eating it is a luxury rather than a mortification or savingness.

Of the JESUITS.

Idem, page **P**OPE Paul III. in the year 1540, 133. published their bull of institution, with an express clause that their number should never exceed sixty, notwithstanding which Ignatius before his death saw above a thousand in his order. At length he suffered his enthusiastic zeal to be a little governed by discretion. His book of spiritual exercises, which was to serve as a directory to his disciples, was indeed altogether romantic. He there represents God as the general of an army, and the Jesuits as his captains. But a person may write very badly, and yet govern well. He was assisted by one Laines and Salmeron, who having acquired some skill in these matters, assisted him in composing the rules of his order. Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, grandson to pope Alexander VI. and nephew of Cæsar Borgia, one as weak and fanatic as his grandfather and uncle were wicked and deceitful, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and was the first who procured it its riches and credit. Francis Xavier, by his mission to the Indies and Japan, rendered it famous. The ardour, obstinacy, and mixture of enthusiasm and insinuation, which is the character of every new institution, gained the Jesuits a reception in almost all states, notwithstanding the vehement oppositions they had to encounter. They could not, however, establish themselves in France till the year 1561, and then only on condition that they should never take the name of Jesuits, and should
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be subject to the authority of the bishops. The name of Jesuit was thought too pompous. They were reproached with endeavouring to arrogate to themselves alone, a title common to all Christians, and the vows they took to the pope gave cause of jealousy.



We ought not certainly to attribute to their institution, or to the effect of a determined and general plan, always kept in view, the crimes which, through the fatality of the times, some of this order have been led to commit. It certainly was not the fault of Ignatius, that Matthew Guignard, Gueret, and several other of the Jesuits, both wrote and caballed against Henry IV. with so much fury, or that those of their order have since been driven out of Portugal for rebellion and regicide, any more than it was the fault of the founder of the Dominican order, that one of that body poisoned the emperor Henry VII. in giving him the sacrament, and that another assassinated Henry III. of France. Nor is St. Benedict to be charged with the death of the duke of Guienne, brother to Lewis XI. who was poisoned by a Benedictine monk. No religious order whatever was originally founded with criminal nor even political views.

Of NUNS.

Idem, page 139. **P**OPE St. Leo, whose memory is still held in the greatest esteem, ordered in the year 458, conjunctly with other bishops, that no single woman should be permitted to take the veil before she was forty years of age, and the emperor Majorianus made this

wise law of the church, a law of state. An imprudent zeal, however, destroyed in time what wisdom and prudence had established.

Of the INQUISITION.

Vol. IV. chap. cxix. **T**HE inquisition is milder in Rome and Italy, where the Jews enjoy great privileges, and where the inhabitants are more solicitous to make their own fortunes, and those of their relations, than to dispute about mysteries. Pope Paul IV. who granted too extensive a power to the tribunal of the inquisition at Rome, was detested for it by the people. They disturbed his funeral obsequies; threw his statue into the Tyber; demolished the prisons of the inquisition; and stoned the officers of that tribunal. Nevertheless, the Romish inquisition had not put any one to death, during the pontificate of Paul IV. His successor Pius IV. was more cruel; he caused three unhappy scholars to be burnt for not thinking like other people; but the Italian inquisition, in the utmost stretch of its power, never equalled the cruelties of that in Spain. The greatest injury it ever did to Italy was the keeping as much as possible an inquisitive and spirited people in ignorance. Those who will write are obliged to ask permission of a Jacobine to think, and of others to read. Men of learning, of which there are a great number in Italy, complain in secret; the rest live in a round of pleasure and ignorance; and the lower people are sunk in superstition. The greater spirit the Italians have shewn, the greater efforts have been made

made to curb it ; and this spirit has only served to bring them under the lash of the monks, whose hands they are obliged to kiss in several provinces, as in former times, it served only to subject them more to the Goths, the Lombards, the Franks, and the Teutonians.

Of the Discoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

Vol. IV. **P** RINCE Henry of Portugal chap. cxx. took for his device, *Talent de bien faire.*



Id. page 158.] The Negro race is a species of men as different from ours, as the breed of spaniels is from that of greyhounds. The mucous membrane, or net-work, which nature has spread between the muscles and the skin, is white in us, and black or copper-coloured in them. The famous Ruisch was the first in our time, who in dissecting a Negro at Amsterdam, was so happily skilful as to raise the whole of this mucoreticular membrane. Czar Peter purchased it of him ; but Ruisch kept a small piece for himself, which I have seen, and is like a piece of black gauze. If a Negro by accident burns himself, so that this membrane is hurt, his skin turns brown in the place, otherwise it comes black again as before. Their eyes are not formed like ours. The black wool on their heads and other parts, has no resemblance to our hair ; and it may be said, that if their understanding is not of a different nature from ours, it is at least greatly inferior. They are not capable of any great

application or association of ideas, and seem formed neither for the advantages nor abuses of our philosophy. They are a race peculiar to that part of Africa, the same as elephants and monkeys. The Negroes of the empire of Morocco are a warlike, hardy, and cruel people, and often superior in the field to the sun-burnt tawny troops, whom they call white. They think themselves born in Guinea, to be sold to the whites, and to serve them.

There are several kinds of Negroes. Those of Guinea, Ethiopia, Madagascar, and the Indies, are all different. The blacks of Guinea and Congo have wool; the others long, shaggy hair. The petty nations of blacks, who have but little commerce with other nations, are strangers to all kind of religious worship. The first degree of stupidity is to think only of the present, and of bodily wants. This was the state of several nations, and especially those which inhabited islands. The second degree is to foresee by halves, without being able to form any fixed society; to behold the stars with wonder and amazement; to celebrate certain seasons, to make a general rejoicing on the return of certain seasons, or the appearance of a particular star, without going further, or having any distinct positive idea. In this middle state between imbecility and infant reason, many nations have continued for several ages.

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Id. page 158.] By an odd chance we find the southern pole, and the four stars, which are nearest to it, spoken of by the famous Dante †. Had there been a necessity for a prediction to establish

† Above an hundred years before this discovery, in the first canto of his Purgatory.

some

some right or opinion, what advantages would not have been made of this prophesy? how clear it would have appeared! and with how much zeal would those have been persecuted who had presumed to explain it rationally!



Id. p. 160.] The Portuguese did not at this time form any settlements on the Cape of Good-Hope, which the Dutch have since made one of the most delicious habitations on the earth, and where they cultivate with success, the productions of the four quarters of the world. The natives of this country resemble neither the Whites nor the Negroes; they are all of a deep olive-colour, having long shaggy hair, and are born, both men and women, with a piece of skin, which hangs down from their navels, and covers the private parts in the form of an apron, which they can take up or let down at pleasure. Their organs of speech are different from ours; for they utter a kind of rattling or fluttering sound, which it is impossible for any but themselves to understand or imitate. These people were not cannibals; on the contrary, their manners were mild and innocent. It is certain they did not carry their portion of reason so far as to have knowledge of a Supreme Being; but were in that degree of stupidity which admits of imperfect society, founded on their common wants. Peter Kolb, the master of arts, who lived so long among them, is certain that those people are descendants from Keturah, one of Abraham's wives, and that they worship a little black beetle. We know very little about their religion; and as to their pedigree, I question much whether Peter Kolb's informations were very authentic.

The

The first philosophers who travelled into Egypt and Colchos were struck with surprise at the ceremony of circumcision ; but the Hottentots have an operation which is much more surprising. It has always been a custom with them to deprive all their males of one testicle; without knowing how, or on what account this custom was first introduced amongst them. Some of them have told the Dutch that this operation made them more light and active for the chase, and others that the aromatic herbs with which they fill the cavity in the scrotum, from whence the testicle is taken, makes them more vigorous and robust. It is certain they can have no other than a bad reason to give for such a practice, and the same may be said of many customs in other parts of the world.

OF J A P A N.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxi. **T**HE famous Francis Xavier, a Portuguese jesuit, a man of a bold and indefatigable zeal, was the first who sowed the seeds of the gospel in these parts. He accompanied the merchants, who traded to several of the Japan islands, sometimes in the character of a pilgrim, and sometimes with all the pomp and apparatus of an apostolic vicar, and deputy of the pope. It is certain, that being obliged to make use of an interpreter, he made but an inconsiderable progress in the beginning of his mission ; he himself says in his letters, “ I do not understand these people nor they me ; we spell like children learning to read.” After such a confession, the writers of his life had, one
would

would imagine, no great reason to attribute to him the gift of tongues ; nor should they have held the understandings of their readers in so contemptible a light as to assert that, having lost his crucifix, it was brought him again by a crab ; that he was present in two places at one and the same time ; and that he raised nine dead persons to life. They might have contented themselves with praising his zeal and power of resisting temptations. After some time Xavier, learnt enough of the Japanese language to make himself tolerably well understood. The princes of several of the islands of that empire, who were most of them dissatisfied with their bonzes, were not sorry to see foreign preachers come amongst them to oppose those who had abused their functions ; and the Christian religion was by degrees established.

OF INDIA.

Idem, page 175. **I**N the middlemost parts of Africa, there is a race, though very few in number, of little men, who are as white as snow, with faces like those of the negroes, and round eyes exactly resembling those of partridges. The Portuguese call them *Albinos*; they are small, weak, and look askew. The wool that covers their heads, and of which their eye brows are formed, is like very fine white cotton. They are inferior to the negroes or blacks in bodily strength and understanding ; and are perhaps intended by nature as the next species after the Negroes and the Hottentots, somewhat above monkeys, and as one of the degrees descending from human kind to the brute creation. Perhaps

haps also there may have been a middle species, inferior to these, who have been destroyed by time, and their own weakness. Two of these creatures have been seen in France : and I myself have seen one in the hotel de Bretagne at Paris, which a negro merchant had brought over with him. There are some of these animals in the eastern parts of Asia, which greatly resemble the human species, but they are very rare, and require that tenderness and care from the rest of the human race in order to their preservation, which we seldom shew to things that are not of some use to us.

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The first thing which Pelsart saw in 1630, in those parts of the Terra Australis, which are divided from our hemisphere, and which is now called New-Holland, was a troop of negroes, who came walking towards him on their hands, in the same manner as upon feet. It is probable that when we shall have penetrated farther into this new southern world, we shall become better acquainted with the infinite variety in nature ; and that every thing will conduce to enlarge our ideas, and diminish our prejudices.

* * *

Idem, page 178, 179.] We must be as ignorant and as inconsiderate as the monks of the middle age to indulge ourselves in the vain notion, that all beyond our little spot Europe, that our ancient masters and legislators the Romans, that the Greeks their masters, and the ancient Egyptian priests the master of the Greeks, in a word, that all nations but ourselves have been always a set of detestable and absurd idolaters.

Of

Of ETHIOPIA or ABYSSINIA.

THE Abyssinians, who are a mixture of half Jews, half Christians, acknowledge for their patriarch an archbishop, who resides in the ruins of Alexandria, or Grand Cairo in Egypt. This patriarch is not of their religion, but of the ancient Greek communion, which communion differs again from the Greek religion. The Turkish government, however, suffer this little flock to remain unmolested, and do not concern themselves whether these Christians plunge their newborn infants into a great tub of water, or carry their god to the houses of their lying-in-women, under the form of a piece of bread steeped in wine. These people would not be suffered in Rome, and yet we find them tolerated by Mahometans.

IDLE DISPUTES,

How AMERICA came to be peopled. Specific differences between AMERICA and the NEW WORLD. Men-eaters. Religions. Reasons why the NEW WORLD is less populous than the OLD.

IF it was an effect of philosophy that discovered America, it certainly is not one to be every day asking how it happened that men were found upon this continent, and how they had been transported thither? If we are not surprised to find that there are flies in America, it is very stupid to express our wonder that there should be men there also.

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The savage who thinkshimself a production of the climate in which he lives, the same as his *Original* and *Manioc* root, is not more ignorant than ourselves in this point, and reasons better. In fact, as the negro of Africa has not his original from us whites, why should the red, olive, or ash-coloured people of America, come from our countries? and besides, which was the primitive or mother-country of all the others?

Were the flowers, fruits, trees, and animals, with which Nature covers the face of the earth, planted by her at first only in one spot, in order that they might from thence be spread over the rest of the world? Where must that spot have been which first produced all the grass, and all the oats, and dispersed them afterwards through all other parts of the globe? How were the moss and the firs of Norway conveyed to the countries of the southern pole? You cannot suppose any one country which is not almost wholly destitute of some of the productions of another. We must suppose then, that originally it had every thing, and that now it has nothing. Every climate has its different productions, and the most fruitful is extremely poor, in comparison with all the others put together. The great master of nature has peopled with variety the whole globe. The firs of Norway certainly are not the parents of the clove trees of the Molucca Islands; as little are they indebted for their origin to the firs of any other country. We may as well suppose the grass growing in Archangel to be produced by that on the banks of the Ganges. It would never come into our heads to suppose that the caterpillars and snails of one part.

part of the world were produced in another part; why then should we be surpris'd that America produces some species of animals, and some race of men resembling ours?

Not only America, but Africa and Asia also, produce and contain vegetables and animals resembling those in Europe; and each of those continents do likewise produce many kinds that have not the least resemblance with those of the old world.

The lands in Mexico, Peru, and Canada, never bear wheat, which is a part of our food, nor grapes, which make our common drink; nor olives, which is so useful a fruit to us; nor indeed the greatest part of our other fruits. All our beasts of burthen, such as horses, camels, asses, oxen, were creatures wholly unknown in that part of the world: they had indeed a kind of oxen and sheep, but altogether different from ours. The sheep of Peru were larger and stronger than those of Europe, and were made use of to carry loads: their oxen were a breed somewhat between our camel and buffalo. There is a species of hogs, in Mexico, which have their navels at their backs, instead of their bellies, as in all other quadrupeds. There are neither dogs nor cats in this country: there are lions there, indeed, and in Peru, but very small, and almost without hair, and what is most extraordinary, the lion of these climates is a cowardly creature.

You may, if you please, reduce all mankind to one single species, because they have the same organs of life, sense, and motion; but this species is evidently divided into several others, whether we consider it in a physical or moral light.

As to the first of these, the Esquimaux, a race of people inhabiting the 60th degree of North latitude, are said to resemble the Laplanders in figure and stature. The neighbouring people have faces covered with hair. The Iroquois, the Hurons, and all the people of that tract, as far as Florida, are olive-coloured, and without the least appearance of hair on any part of the body, except their heads. Captain Rogers, who sailed along the coast of California, discovered a species of negroes, unknown in America. On the Isthmus of Panama there is a race of people called Dariens, who greatly resemble the Albinos of Africa. They are at most four feet high; they are white, and are the only native people in all America, who are of a white colour: they have red-eyes bordered with eye-lashes in the form of a semi circle. They never stir out of their holes but in the night-time, not being able to see in day-light, and are to the rest of mankind what owls are to the feathered race. The natives of Mexico and Peru are of a copper-colour, those of Brasil of a deeper red, and the people of Chili are more ash-coloured; the size of the Patagonians, or inhabitants of the Streights of Magellan, has been greatly exaggerated; the truth seems to be that they are by far the tallest people of any in the known world.

Amongst all these nations, so greatly differing from us, and from each other, there has never yet been found a race of men living without society, wandering as chance might direct, like the brutes, or like them coupling promiscuously, or quitting their females to go in quest of food by themselves; such a state seems not compatible with
human

human nature, which, by the instinct of species, affects society as it does liberty. Hence we find that the shutting up of a prisoner in a prison, where he is debarred any commerce with the rest of mankind, is one of the many punishments invented by tyrants, for the torture of their fellow-creatures; and is a punishment which would appear less supportable to a savage than to a civilized man.

From the Streights of Magellan to Hudson's-Bay, there are a number of families gathered under one chief, and living in huts which compose villages; but we have no instance in those parts of any wandering people abandoning their habitations, according to the seasons, like the Arabians, Badouins, and Tartars. The reason seems to be, that these people, not having any beasts of burthen, could not so easily transport their cabins. We every where meet with certain fixed idioms, by which the most savage nations are enabled to express the few ideas they are masters of; this is another instinct peculiar to mankind to denote their wants by certain articulate sounds. Names must necessarily have arisen from the number of different languages, more or less copious, according to the greater or lesser degree of understanding in those who made use of them. Nay, the language of the Mexicans was more regular than that of the Iroquois, as ours is more copious and absolute than that of the Samoidians.

Of all the people of America, one nation only had a religion; which seems at first sight, not to be repugnant to reason; these are the Peruvians, who, like the antient Persians and Sabeans, adored the sun as a planet that dispensed

pened its benefits to all the creation: but, excepting the large and well peopled nations in America, all the others were plunged in a state of the most barbarous stupidity. Their religious assemblies had no mark of a regular worship, and their belief was without form. It is certain, that the Brasilians, the inhabitants of the Caribbee and Molucca Islands; and the people of Guiana, and the northern countries, had no clearer notion of a Supreme Being than the Cafres of Africa. A knowledge of this kind requires a reason that has been cultivated, which their reasons were not. Nature alone may inspire with a confused idea of something supremely powerful and terrible, the savage, who sees a thunderbolt fall, or beholds a mighty river break its bounds: but this is only a faint beginning of the knowledge of a God, creator of the universe; a knowledge which was absolutely wanting to all the inhabitants of the vast continent of America.

The other Americans, who had formed to themselves a religion, had made an abominable one. The Mexicans were not the only people who sacrificed human victims to a certain evil deity of their own invention. It has been said that the Peruvians were wont to disgrace their worship of the sun by the like bloody offerings. And there seems to be some kind of conformity between the ancient people of our hemisphere, and the more civilized of the other, in regard to this barbarous religion.

We are assured by Herrera, that the Mexicans feasted on the flesh of the human victims that they offered in sacrifice. The greatest part of the first travellers and missionaries, all agree, that

that the people of the Brasils and the Caribbee Islands, as also the Iroquois and Hurons, and some other of those nations, eat the prisoners whom they took in their wars ; and that they did not look upon this as a custom peculiar to themselves, but as the general practice of all nations. So many authors, both ancient and modern, have made mention of cannibals, or Man-Eaters, that it is difficult to deny that there are such. In the year 1725, I myself saw four savages at Fontainbleau, who had been brought from the Mississippi ; among them was a woman of an ash-coloured complexion, like that of her, companions. I asked her, by the interpreter who was with them, whether she had at any time eaten human flesh ; to which she answered, yes, in the same indifferent manner as if it had been a common question. This barbarity, which so much shocks our nature, is, however, far less cruel than murder ; real barbarity consists in taking away the life of any one, and not in disputing the dead carcase with the crows or the worms. A people who lived altogether by hunting, as did the Brasilians and Canadians, and the inhabitants of the Caribbee islands, might sometimes, on failure of their usual food, be driven to this shocking recourse to supply the calls of nature. Hunger and vengeance might have accustom'd them to this food ; and when we see in the most civilized ages the people of Paris devouring the mangled remains of the marechal d'Ancre, and those of the Hague eating the heart of the grand pensionary de Witt, we need not wonder that a deed of horror that was only temporary with us, has become a lasting custom among savages,

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The most ancient writings extant confirm to us, that men may have been driven to this excess by hunger. Moses himself threatens the Hebrews in five verses of Deuteronomy, that they should eat their own children, if they transgressed the law; and the prophet Ezekiel promises the same people, in the name of God, that if they fight valiantly against the king of Persia, the Lord will give them to eat of the flesh of the horse and of the horseman. Marco Paolo, or Mark Paul, says, that in his time, in one part of Tartary, the magicians or priests (which were the same) had the privilege of eating the flesh of criminals condemned to death. This strikes one with horror; but the picture of human kind will be found too frequently to produce this effect.

How has it happened that people, who were always separated from each other by their countries, have yet been united in this horrible custom? Can we suppose it to be not altogether repugnant to human nature? It is certain that this practice is very rare; but it is as certain that it does really exist.

There is another vice altogether different from this, and seemingly more contrary to the end of nature, in which, nevertheless, the Greeks prided themselves, which the Romans allowed, and which has continued to prevail amongst the most civilized nations, and is much more common in the warm and temperate climates of Europe and Asia, than in the frozen regions of the north. There have been instances in America of the same effect of the caprices of human nature. The natives of Brasil practised this unnatural custom in common; it was un-

unknown to the Canadians. But how happens it that a passion which overturns all the laws of propagation of the human species, should, in both parts of the world, have taken possession of the very organs of propagation themselves?

Another observation, no less important, is, that the middlemost parts of Africa have been found to be tolerably well peopled, and the two extremities towards the poles very thinly inhabited; in general, the new world does not appear to contain the number of people it should do. There must certainly be some natural causes for this.

In the first place, then, the cold is as excessive and piercing in America, in the same degree of latitude with Paris and Vienna, as in our continent at the polar circle.

In the second place, the rivers in America are for the most part ten times as large as ours, and as these frequently overflow, they must have occasioned a great dearth, and of consequence, mortality, in those immense tracts. The mountains, by being much higher, are not so habitable as ours. The violent and lasting poisons with which the whole soil of America is covered, renders the slightest wound of an arrow dipt in their juice instantaneously mortal. And, lastly, the stupidity of the human species in a part of this hemisphere, may have greatly contributed to depopulate the country. It is a general remark that the human understanding is not near so perfect in the new as in the old world. Man is in both a very feeble animal, and, when in a state of infancy, very liable to perish for want of due care; and it cannot be supposed, that when the inhabitants on the banks

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of the Rhone, the Elbe, and the Vistula, were wont to plunge their new-born infants into those rivers, that the German and Sarmatian mothers reared as many children as they do now; especially when those countries were covered with vast woods, which made the climate more inclement and unwholsome than it has been of late times. Numberless colonies of Americans were in want of proper food. They could not furnish their infants with good milk; nor could they provide for them afterwards, either wholesome food, or a sufficiency of it. We find several of the carnivorous kind of animals greatly reduced in number, for want of subsistence; and it is a matter of surprize, that we meet with more men in America than monkeys.

OF FERNANDO CORTEZ.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxiv. **I**T is said, that, as a Spanish captain was marching thro' the lands of a cacique, the latter presented him with a number of slaves and some game, saying, if thou art a god there are men, eat them; if thou art a mortal here is the flesh of animals, which these slaves will dress for thee.

Of the CONQUEST of PERU.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxv. **T**HE first of the incas, or emperors of Peru, who conquered that country, and gave the inhabitants laws, passed for a son of the sun. Thus we find the most civilized nations both
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of the old and new world, resembled each other in the custom of deifying great and extraordinary men, whether conquerors or legislators.

Garcilasso de la Vega, a descendant from the incas, who was brought to Madrid, wrote the history of those kings, in the year 1608. He was then far advanced in years; and his father might easily have been a witness to the revolution which happened in that country in the year 1530. He could not, indeed, know with any certainty, the minuter parts of the history of his ancestors. The people of America were all of them strangers to the art of writing, resembling in this respect the antient Tartarian nations, the inhabitants of the southern parts of Africa, our ancestors the Celtes, and most of the people of the north; none of all these nations had any thing that could supply the place of history. The Peruvians transmitted their principal events to posterity by means of knots tied on cords; but we find that in general, fundamental laws, the most essential points of religion, and heroic exploits, are transmitted with tolerable fidelity from person to person by word of mouth, in which manner Garcilasso might have acquired his knowledge of some capital events, and in such only, he is worthy of our credit. He says, that throughout all the Peruvian empire they worshipped the sun; a worship which appeared more reasonable than any other, in a country that did not enjoy the light of revelation. Pliny admitted no other god, even in the most enlightened ages of Rome. Plato, who was still more enlightened than him, called the sun, the son of God, the splendor of the Father; we find this planet adored many ages before by

the magi, and the antient Egyptians: the same appearance of truth, and the same error, prevailed equally in both hemispheres.

The Peruvians had obelisks and regular gnomonic instruments, to shew the points of the equinoxes and solstices. Their year consisted of 365 days; perhaps the science of antient Egypt did not extend further. They raised prodigies in architecture, and cut statues with surprising art. In a word, they were the best polished, and the most industrious people of any in the new world.

The inca Huescat, father of Atabalipa, the last of the incas, in whose reign this vast empire was destroyed, had greatly augmented and embellished it.

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In the pacific and religious ceremonies instituted to the honour of the sun, they formed certain dances; nothing is more natural; it was one of the antient customs in our part of the world. Huescar, in order to render these dances more grave and solemn, made the performers carry a chain of gold, seven hundred of our geometrical paces in length*, and as thick as a man's wrist, each dancer took hold of a link. Hence we may conclude that gold must have been more plenty in Peru than copper is with us.

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Id. pag. 217.] Here let us observe, that if the Mexicans are chargeable with having sometimes sacrificed their conquered enemies to the god of war, the Peruvians were never known to offer such sacrifices to the sun, whom they looked

* Or nearly three quarters of a mile, which is equal to a measure of 1400 yards.

upon

upon as a good and benignant deity. And indeed the Peruvian nation itself, was, perhaps the most gentle in its manners of any in the whole world.

Of the first VOYAGE round the World.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxvi. pag. 219. **T**HE Mariana Islands, lying near the line, demand our particular attention. The inhabitants of those islands know not what fire is, and indeed that element would be altogether useless to them, as they live wholly upon fruits, which their land produces in great abundance; especially cacao, sago, which is much superior to rice, and a kind of paste or dough, that has the taste of the best bread, and is formed in a pod or shell on the top of a large tree. It is said that these people commonly live to the age of an hundred and twenty; the same has been said of the natives of Brasil. When they were first discovered, they were neither wild nor cruel; nor did they want for any of the conveniences which were necessary for their subsistence. Their houses were built of the planks of cacao trees, formed for the purpose, with great industry, and were neat and regular. Their gardens were laid out with great art; and they were, perhaps, the most happy, and the least wretched of any people whatever. Nevertheless, the Portuguese called their country the Island of Thieves, *Isoas de los Ladrones*, because those people, not being perfectly versed in the *meum et tuum*, happened to eat some of their ship-provisions. There was no more religion
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amongst them, than amongst the Hottentots, or many other of the African and American nations. But beyond these islands, towards the Moluccas, there are other nations where the Mahometan religion was introduced in the time of the caliphs. The Mahometans had sailed thither through the Indian sea, and the Christians came through the South-Sea. Had the Arabians known the use of the compass, they were the only people to have discovered America, as lying in the very tract; but their navigation never extended further than the Isle of Mandanao to the west of the Manillas. This vast cluster of islands was inhabited by different species of men, some white, some black, some olive, and some red, or copper-coloured: Nature has been always found to vary more in hot climates than in those to the northward.

Of B R A S I L.

AT the time that the Spaniards invaded the richest part of the new world, the Portuguese, glutted with the treasures of the new, neglected the Brasils, which they had discovered in the year 1500, without looking after them.

The Portuguese admiral Cabral, after having passed the Cape de Verd Islands, in his way to the coast of Malabar, through the southern sea of Africa, steered so far to the westward, that he fell in with the land of Brasil, that part of the Continent of America, which lies nearest to Africa: there being but 30 degrees of longitude between this coast and Mount
Atlas

Atlas ; it consequently was the first discovered. The country was found to be extremely fertile, and blooming with a continual spring. The natives were all of them stout, well made, robust, and vigorous ; their complexion was of a reddish cast ; they went quite naked, excepting only a large belt round their middles, which served them as a kind of pouch.

They were a people who lived by hunting ; and as they were not always assured of a certain subsistence, were consequently wild and fierce, making war upon each other, with their arrows and clubs, for the spoils of the chase, in the same manner as the civilized barbarians of the old continent did, for the possession of a few villages. Anger and resentment for injuries actual or supposed, frequently armed them against each other, as we read of the ancient Greeks and people of Asia. They did not sacrifice human victims, for they had no religious worship among them, and consequently could have no sacrifices to make, as the Mexicans had : but they feasted on the persons they took in battle ; and Americus Vesputius relates, in one of his letters, that these people were struck with astonishment to hear that the Europeans did not eat their prisoners.

As to laws, the Brasilians had none, but such as were made upon instant need, by the people assembled together. They were governed wholly by instinct. By this instinct they went to the chase, when pressed by hunger, took to themselves wives, when necessity required, and satisfied the calls of a momentary passion indiscriminately.

These people are alone a convincing proof that America was never known to the old world, or certainly some kind of religion would have found its way among them, from the continent of Africa, to which they are so near; and there must have remained some small traces of this religion, whatever it had been: whereas there is no such to be found. They had indeed certain jugglers among them, who went about with their heads adorned with feathers, stirred the people up to battle, pointed out to them the new moon, and pretended to cure them of their maladies with certain herbs; but no one ever heard of either priests, altars, or any kind of religious worship among them.

The people of Mexico and Peru, who were more civilized, had a regular worship. Religion with them was the support of the state, because it was entirely subject to, and dependant on the sovereign; but there could be no state or government among savages, who had neither wants nor a police.

The Portuguese government suffered the colonies which their merchants had sent to the Brasils to languish near fifty years unsupported, and almost unnoticed. At length, in the year 1559, it made some solid regulations relating thereto, and the kings of Portugal received tribute from both worlds at the same time. When Philip II. king of Spain, subjected Portugal in the year 1581, he found a considerable increase of wealth in the Brasils. The Dutch afterwards took them almost entirely from the Spaniards from the year 1625 to 1630.

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The Dutch likewise stripped Spain of all the settlements belonging to the Portuguese in the Old World and the New. At length, when these latter threw off the Spanish yoke, they recovered possession of the coast of Brasil. This country has furnished its new masters with the same productions as Mexico, Peru, and the islands did to the Spaniards; namely, gold, silver, and the most precious commodities. And even in our time there have been some diamond mines discovered in the Brasils, that were no way inferior in riches to those of Golconda. But what has been the consequence? Portugal has been beggared by its excessive riches. The colonies of Asia and Brasil have drained it of a prodigious number of inhabitants: while those who were left behind, having their heads full of gold and diamond mines, neglected to cultivate the real mines of inexhaustible wealth to a state, agriculture and the manufactories. Their gold and diamonds were found hardly sufficient to pay for the necessary commodities with which they were furnished by the English, for whom only the Portuguese may be said to have laboured in America. In the year 1756, when Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake, they were obliged to have a quantity of coined silver sent from England, so great a scarcity was there of every thing in Portugal. In a word, in that kingdom, the sovereign alone is rich, his people are all beggars.

Of the POSSESSIONS of the FRENCH in
AMERICA.

SPAIN drew immense treasures from Mexico and Peru, (which, however have not greatly enriched them in the end) at a time when other nations had not a single colony in the other parts of America that was of any advantage to them : this naturally excited their jealousy, and determined them to follow the example of the Spaniards.

Admiral Coligny, who had great ideas in every thing, formed a scheme in the year 1557; during the reign of Henry II. to establish a colony of French of his own sect in the Brasils. The chevalier de Villigagnon, at that time a calvinist, was sent over thither. Calvin himself embarked in the undertaking. The Genoese were not at that time such good traders as at present, and Calvin sent over a greater number of preachers than labourers. The former wanting to have the upper hand, there ensued a violent quarrel between the commandant and them, which terminated in a sedition. The colony, thus divided, was attacked and ruined by the Portuguese. Villegagnon renounced Calvin and his ministers as a set of religious incendiaries ; they stigmatized him for an atheist, and France lost the Brasils.

It was said that the family of the incas had taken refuge in that extensive country, whose frontiers join to those of Peru ; that the greatest part of the inhabitants of that country had fled thither from the avarice and cruelty of the European.

European christians, who occupied the middlemost part, and had settled near a certain lake named Perima, the sand of which was gold; and that they had there built a city, the houses of which were all tiled with that precious metal. The Spaniards were for a long time employed in searching after this city, which they called Eldorado, or the Golden City.

This name roused the attention of all the powers of Europe. In the year 1596, queen Elizabeth sent out a fleet, under the command of the ingenious and unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh, to dispute these glorious spoils with the Spaniards. Raleigh actually discovered a country inhabited by a people of a red complexion; and he pretends, in his writings, to have met with a nation, whose shoulders were as high as their heads. He makes no doubt but that the country furnished mines; and he brought back to England with him an hundred large plates of solid gold, and several pieces of the wrought metal: but, after all, there was no Dorado nor lake Perima to be found. The French, after several fruitless attempts, made a settlement in the year 1664, on the island of Cayenne, a point of that extensive coast, not more than fifteen leagues in circumference, and to which they gave the name of Equinoctial France, though the whole colony did not consist of above 150 houses, partly wood and partly earth: and the island of Cayenne was never worth any thing to France, till the time of Lewis XIV. who was the first of the French kings that truly encouraged the maritime commerce. This island was taken from the French by the Dutch in the war of 1672. But a fleet, sent over by Lewis

XIV. took it again. Its present produce is a little indigo, and some very bad coffee. Guiana was reputed the finest country in all America, and where the French might have made settlements with the greatest ease; and this was the very country the most neglected by them.

They had heard of Florida, a country lying between the old and new world, part of which the Spaniards were already in possession of; and it was they who first gave the name of Florida to this part of the continent of North America. But, as the captain of a French cruizer pretended to have landed here nearly about the same time with the Spaniards, the right to it was to be disputed; for, by our law of nations, or rather of robbers, the land of the Americans ought to be the property not only of the first invaders, but also of any one who pretended to have first discovered them.

Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. and about the year 1564, had sent thither a colony of Huguenots, being desirous of establishing his religion in America, as well as the Spaniards had established theirs. The Spaniards destroyed this country, and hung up all the French they found in the place upon the trees, with a label to each, importing, that *they had been hanged not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

Some time afterwards one chevalier de Gourgues, a Gascon, having put himself at the head of a number of pirates to endeavour to recover Florida, made himself master of a small Spanish fort; and, in his turn, hung up all the prisoners, taking care to affix a writing to each, signifying that *they had been hanged not as Spaniards, but as robbers and infidels.* And now the unhappy
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natives of America began to see their European despoilers revenge their cause, by mutually destroying each other : a consolation which they have frequently enjoyed.

After having hanged the Spaniards, in order to secure themselves from the same treatment, the French were obliged to evacuate Florida, and made a formal renunciation of their pretended right to that country ; which was, in many respects, preferable even to Guiana. But the bloody disputes concerning religion, which at that time spread the destruction through all the kingdom of France, left the people no leisure to go and butcher and convert these savages, or contest the possession of this fine country with the Spaniards.

The English had for some time been in possession of the best lands, and the most advantageous in point of situation, that could be wished for in North America, on the other side of Florida, when a few merchants of Normandy, on the simple prospect of establishing a small trade for skins and furs, established a colony in Canada, a country covered with ice and snow during eight months of the year, and inhabited only by savages, bears, and beavers. This country, which was discovered some time before the year 1535, had been afterwards abandoned ; but at length, after several attempts badly supported by the government, for want of a sufficient naval force, a small company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo's founded Quebec, in the year 1608 ; that is to say, they built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town till the reign of Lewis XIV.

This.

This settlement and that of Louisbourg, as well as all the rest in New France, have been always very poor, while there are no less than 1500 coaches driving through the streets of the city of Mexico, and still more in that of Lima. Nevertheless, the property of these countries has not exempted them from being the theatre of continual wars, either with the natives or the English; who, though already possessed of far the best territories, were still anxious to divest the French of those which belonged to them, in order to make themselves sole ministers of the trade of this wintry region of the world.

The natives of Canada are not of the same kind with those of Mexico, Peru, or the Brasils. They resemble them in the want of hair, of which they have none except on their eyebrows and head; but they differ from them in their colour which approaches nearer to ours; and still more their disposition, which is very fierce and courageous. They were always entire strangers to monarchical government, the republican spirit having always prevailed among the northern nations, both of the old and new world. The inhabitants of North America, of the Apalachian mountains, and of Davis's streights, are all of them peasants and hunters, living together in little towns or villages, which is an institution natural to the human species. We very seldom give them the name of Indians having erroneously appropriated that name to, the people of Mexico, Peru, and the Brasils; which country has been called the Indies, only because as much treasure comes from thence as from the real Indies; but content ourselves with calling the North Americans savages, though

though they are less so in some respects than the country people on some of our European sea coasts, who have so long assumed the barbarous right of plundering all vessels that are wrecked on their shores, and murdering the poor unhappy sailors. War, the crime and scourge of all times and all countries, was not with them as it is with us, a mere motive of interest: it was in general the result of vengeance meditated for injuries received, as it was also with the Brasilians and all other savage nations.

The most horrible thing belonging to the Canadians was their custom of putting their captives to death by the most cruel torments, and afterwards eating them. This barbarous practice they learnt from the people of Brasil, though at the distance of fifty degrees from each other. Both nations feasted on the flesh of their enemies, as on the produce of the chase. This is a custom that has not always prevailed; but it has been common to more than one nation, as we have shewn in the foregoing sheets.

In the frozen and barren climes of Canada men were frequently cannibals; but they were not so in Acadia, which is a better country and produces greater plenty of foods; nor in the rest of the continent, excepting only some parts of the Brasils and on the Caribbee islands.

The infant colony of Canada was formed by a few Jesuits and Hugonots, who had met together there by a strange fatality: they afterwards entered into an alliance with the Hurons, who were at war with the Iroquois. These latter did great damage to the colony, and took several Jesuits prisoners; and, as it is said, eat them.

them. The settlement at Quebec suffered considerably from the English, who attacked it almost as soon as it was built and fortified. They afterwards made themselves masters of all Acadia, which indeed was doing little more than destroying a few fishermen's huts.

The French then had no foreign settlement at that time, either in Asia or America.

The company of merchants who had ruined themselves by these projects, in hopes to repair their losses, applied to cardinal Richelieu to be included in the treaty made with the English at St. Germain. The latter consented to restore the little they had taken, and of which they made small account; and this little became afterwards New France. This settlement continued a long time in a deplorable condition, save only that the cod fishery brought in some little profits which served to support the company. But as soon as the English were apprized of these small profits, they seized upon Acadia again.

They restored it again by the treaty of Breda. After that they took it five several times, and at length made it their property by the treaty of Utrecht; a treaty which, though looked upon as an happy event at the time it was made, has since proved the most fatal to the peace of Europe: for we shall see that the ministers who drew it up, not having properly determined the limits of Acadia, which the English have endeavoured to enlarge, and the French to confine; this corner of the world has proved the subject of a furious war; which broke out between the rival nations in the year 1755, and drew along with it the war of Germany, with which it had no kind of connection. But so complicated

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are the political interests of the present times, that a shot fired in America shall be the signal for setting all Europe together by the ears.

The French, in 1713, remained in possession of the little island of Cape Breton, on which is Louisbourg, the river of St. Lawrence, Quebec, and Canada. Possessions which were rather useful, by being a nursery of seamen, than profitable in any other respects. Quebec contained about 7000 inhabitants; but the war carried on by the government to preserve this country cost more than the country itself will ever be worth, and yet it appeared absolutely necessary.

In New France is comprehended an immense tract of country, which joins on one side to Canada, and on the other to New Mexico: and whose limits towards the north-east are not known. This country is called the Mississippi, from a river of that name, which falls into the gulph of Mexico; and Louisiana, from the name of Lewis XIV.

This tract of land lay very convenient for the Spaniards; but having already too large an extent of dominion in America, they neglected the possession of it; and the more so, as it produced no gold. Some French belonging to Canada undertook to travel into this country, partly by land, and partly by sailing round the Illinois river; in which trial they underwent the most shocking hardships and fatigues. It was as if you were to go to Egypt round the Cape of Good-Hope, instead of taking the route of Damietta. This extensive part of New France, till the year 1708, was peopled only by about a dozen families, who led a wandering life in the midst of deserts and woods.

Lewis XIX. who at that time was ready to sink under his misfortunes, and saw Old France on the point of falling to ruin, could not think of the New. The state was exhausted of men and money; and here it may not be improper to observe, that, during these times of public calamity, two men acquired fortunes of near forty millions * each; one by a great private trade he carried on in the East Indies, while that company, which had been established by Colbert, was entirely ruined; and the other, by lending money to an unsuccessful, necessitous, and ignorant ministry. This great merchant, whose name was Crozat, was rich and venturous enough to risque a part of his fortune to purchase a grant of Louisiana from the king, on condition that every ship, that he or his partners should send thither, should carry over six young persons of each sex, in order to people the country, where trade and population were equally at a stand.

After the death of Lewis XIV. Law, a Scotchman, a very extraordinary person, many of whose schemes had proved useless, and others hurtful to the nation, made the government and the people believe, that Louisiana produced as much gold as Peru, and that it would soon be able to supply as great a quantity of silk as China. This was the first epocha of Law's famous scheme, called the Mississippi scheme. Several colonies were sent to that country, and a plan was drawn of a magnificent and regular city, to be rebuilt there, by the name of New Orleans. The settlers almost all of them perished for want; and the city was confined to a few paltry houses. Perhaps one day, when France

* Of livres, equal to 1600,000 l. sterling.

shall have a million or two of inhabitants more than she may know what to do with, it may be of some advantage to her to people Louisiana.

Of the FRENCH ISLANDS, and of the BUC-
CANEERS, or FREEBOOTERS.

THE possessions of the most consequence that the French have acquired at different times, are, one half of the island of St. Domingo, the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and some of the lesser Antilles; which is not the two hundredth part of what the Spaniards have got by their conquests; but these have, however, turned out to great advantage.

St. Domingo is that very island Hispaniola, (by the natives called *Ati*) which was discovered by Columbus, and depopulated by the Spaniards; the French have not been able to find on that part of the island which they inhabit, the gold and silver which was formerly found there; this may happen either from metals requiring a long succession of ages to be formed, or, which seems the most probable, that there is only a certain quantity contained in the bowels of the earth, and that a mine when once exhausted, is never recruited; and indeed, when we consider that gold and silver are not mixed metals, it is difficult to say, how they can be reproduced. There are still mines of these metals in that part of the country, which is under the dominion of the Spaniards; but as the expence exceeds the profits, they have left off working them.

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It was to the desperate boldness of a new people, formed by hazard out of English, Bretons, and Normans, that the French are indebted for sharing any part of this island with the Spaniards. These people, who were called Buccaneers or Freebooters, had nearly the same origin and association as the antient Romans; but their courage was more impetuous and terrible. Figure to yourself a company of tygers endowed with some portion of human reason, and you will then have a true idea of these Buccaneers. Their history is as follows:

It happened about the year 1625, that some adventurers from France and England landed at the same time on one of the Caribbee islands, called St. Christopher by the Spaniards, who always gave the name of some saint to every place they invaded, and butchered the natives in the name of that saint. These new-comers found themselves obliged, notwithstanding the natural antipathy of the two nations, to unite together against the Spaniards, who, being masters of all the neighbouring islands as well as of the continent, soon came upon them with a force greatly superior to theirs. The French chief made his escape, and returned back to France. The English commander capitulated: The most resolute of both French and English got over to the island of St. Domingo by the help of the barks, and fixed their residence in an inaccessible part of that island, surrounded by rocks. There they built some small canoes resembling those of the American Indians, and made themselves masters of the island of Tortuga; whither several Normans went over to join them, as they

they did in the twelfth century, to make the conquest of Apulia, and that of England in the tenth. These people met with all the vicissitudes of good and bad fortune that must naturally attend a set of lawless adventurers, assembled together from Normandy and England, on the gulf of Mexico.

In the year 1655, Cromwell fitted out a fleet which took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards. This expedition would not have succeeded but for the assistance of these Buccaneers. They cruised upon all nations indiscriminately, and being more taken up with the search after plunder, than the care of defending themselves, they suffered the Spaniards to make themselves masters of the island of Tortuga during one of their cruizes. However, they soon recovered it again; and the French ministry were obliged to appoint the person whom they chose governor of the island. They infested all the gulph of Mexico, and had lurking-places in several of the little islands thereabouts. They assumed the name of *Brothers of the coast*. Stowed in an heap in a pitiful canoe, that a single shot from a great gun, or the least gale of wind would have blown to atoms, they boldly boarded Spanish ships of the largest burthen, and frequently made them their own. They knew no other laws but that of equally distributing the share of the spoils; no other religion, but that of nature; and even from that, they frequently deviated in an abominable manner.

They had it not in their power to steal wives for themselves, as history tells us the companions of Romulus did; but they procured an hundred
young

young women to be sent them from France: this number however, was far from being sufficient to keep up a society, which was now become so numerous. Two Buccaneers therefore cast dice for one woman; he that won married her; and the loser had no right to lie with her, unless the other was absent, or employed elsewhere.

These people seemed upon the whole formed rather to destroy than to found a state. They performed unheard-of exploits, and were guilty of incredible cruelties. One man (named l'Olonois, from the island of Olonne his birth-place) ventures into the port of the Havannah with a single canoe, and cuts out from thence an armed frigate. Upon examining one of the prisoners on board, the man confesses that this frigate was fitted out purposely to sail in search of him, and, if possible, to take and hang him; adding further, that he himself was to have been his executioner. On hearing this, l'Olonois, without further delay, orders the fellow to be hanged up, cuts off the heads of all the other prisoners with his own hand, and drinks their blood.

This l'Olonois, and one of his companions named le Basque, marched at the head of five hundred Buccaneers, as far as Venezola in the bay of Honduras, where they destroyed two considerable towns with fire and sword, and returned loaded with booty. This success enabled them to equip the vessels which had been taken by their canoes, with cannon and all other necessaries; so that they beheld themselves on a sudden become a maritime power, and on the point of being great conquerors.

Mor-

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Morgan, a native of England, who has left a famous name behind him, puts himself at the head of a thousand Buccaneers, partly of his own nation, and partly Normans, Bretons, and natives of Saintonge, and Basque, with whom he undertakes to get possession of Porto-Bello, the magazine of the riches of Spain, a city of great strength, and defended by a number of cannon, and a considerable garrison. Morgan arrives before it without any artillery, scales the walls of the citadel, in spite of the enemy's fire; and, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, made himself master of it. By this successful temerity, he obliges the city to purchase it's ransom of him for a million of piasters*. Some time afterwards, he has the boldness to land on the Isthmus of Panama, in the midst of the Spanish troops; forces his way to the ancient city of Panama, carries off all the treasures lodged there, and burns the city to the ground, and returns to Jamaica victorious and enriched. This man, who was only the son of a poor peasant in England, might have erected a kingdom to himself in America; but after all his exploits, he ended his days in prison at London.

The French Buccaneers, whose place of retreat was sometimes among the rocks of St. Domingo, and at others in the island of Tortuga, fit out six armed boats, and with about 1200 men, go and attack Vera-Cruz; an undertaking as great as if 1200 men from Biscay should come and lay siege to Bourdeaux with ten boats. However, they take the place by storm, and bring away five millions in specie, and about

* About 200,000l. sterling, a piafter being about 4s. 6d. English.

1500 slaves. At length, made bold by a multitude of successes of this kind, they determine, both French and English, to enter the South Sea, and make themselves masters of Peru. No Frenchman had at that time ever seen the South-Sea, and there was no way to get to it but by crossing the mountains of the Isthmus of Panama, or by sailing all along the coast of South-America, and passing the Streights of Magellan, to which they were all of them strangers. However, they divide themselves into two parties, and set out at the same time in the two different routes.

Those who cross the Isthmus, plunder and destroy all that comes in their way; and at length arrive on the borders of the South-Sea, make themselves masters of some barks they find in the harbours, and wait the arrival of their companions, who were to pass the Streights of Magellan. These latter, who were almost all of them French, after having undergone adventures as romantic as their enterprize, were not able to get to Peru through the Streights, being blown black by tempests, which drove them upon the coast of Africa, where they landed, and plundered all the inhabitants along shore.

In the mean time, those who had got to the South-Sea across the Isthmus, having only open boats to sail in, are pursued by the Spanish fleet from Peru. How are they now to escape? One of their companions, who commands a kind of canoe with about fifty men aboard, makes the best of his way into the Vermillion sea, and gets on shore at California, where he remains four years; he afterwards returns back through the South-Sea; in his passage takes a ship with 500,000 piasters on board, passes the Streights of

of Magellan, and arrives safe at Jamaica with his booty.

The others return back to the Isthmus loaded with gold and precious stones. The Spanish troops assemble on all sides, and pursue them. This obliges them to cross the Isthmus in its widest part, and to march round about for the space of 300 leagues; whereas there are not above 80, in a right line, from the place where they were to that whither they were going. In their journey they are frequently stopt by cataracts, which they are obliged to descend in machines made like a tub. They have hunger and thirst to struggle with, and the elements and their enemies the Spaniards. At length, however, they arrive at the North Sea, with what part of their treasure they have been able to save. Their number was, by this time, decreased to 500. The retreat of the 10,000 Greeks will be always more famous in history, but certainly is not to be compared with this.

If these adventurers could have been all united under one chief, they might have formed a very considerable state in America; but their enterprizes were chiefly confined to doing the Spaniards almost as much hurt as these had formerly done to the American natives. Part of them returned home to their own countries, to enjoy their riches in peace; others died of the excesses occasioned by those riches, and a great many were soon reduced to their original indigence. The governments of France and England ceased to countenance or protect them, when they had no longer any occasion for their assistance; and at present nothing remains of

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these heroic robbers, only the remembrance of their valour and cruelty.

It is to them that France is indebted for one half of the island of St. Domingo; and it was by their arms that she was maintained in possession of it during the time of their cruises.

In the year 1757 they reckoned 30,000 persons in that part of St. Domingo belonging to the French, besides 100,000 slaves, blacks and mulattoes, who work in the several plantations of sugar, cacao, and indigo; and who sacrifice their lives and healths to please those new-acquired wants and appetites which were unknown to our forefathers. We send for these negroes to the coast of Guinea, and to the Gold and Ivory coasts. I do not know what the present price may be; but about thirty years ago, a good negro could be bought for fifty livres, which is about five times less than what we pay for a fat ox. We tell them with one breath that they are men like us, and that they are redeemed by the blood of a God, who was crucified for them; and the next we set them to work like beasts of burthen, and feed them worse. If they attempt to make their escape, we cut off one of their legs, and after having supplied its place with a wooden one, we make them turn a sugar-mill by hand; and yet shall we pretend, after all this, to talk of the law of nations!

The little islands of Martinico and Guadeloupe yield the same commodities at St. Domingo. These islands, and the events that have happened in them, are mere points in the history of the universe: but, after all, these countries, though hardly perceptible in a map of the world, produced in France an annual circulation of
near

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near 60 millions in merchandize. This trade does not enrich a country ; far from it, for it is the cause of many shipwrecks, and the loss of a number of lives. Therefore it certainly cannot be looked upon as real good ; but as mankind have made new wants for themselves, it prevents the kingdom from purchasing at a dear rate from foreigners, a superfluity that is, by this means, become a necessary.

The END of the TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.



